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ABSTRACT

Presented are speeches, group reports, and panel discussions from a citizenship conference held in Boston in May, 1947. Sponsored by the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association, the conference provided an opportunity for political, business, educational and religious leaders to discuss the benefits and responsibilities of citizenship during the period following World War II. Specific objectives of the conference were to devise ways of making citizenship more effective and to indicate how various organizations could contribute to a more active, enlightened, and progressive citizenry. Approximately 100 conference participants heard addresses by and discussed citizenship matters with college presidents, educators, military leaders, labor leaders, members of the clergy, representatives from foundations and non-profit organizations, and government officials including the attorney general of the United States. Topics discussed included special citizenship duties of various professional and vocational groups, qualities of a good citizen, community consciousness, democracy in peace time, the United Nations, participation in social and civic action, and the need to democratize education. (DB)

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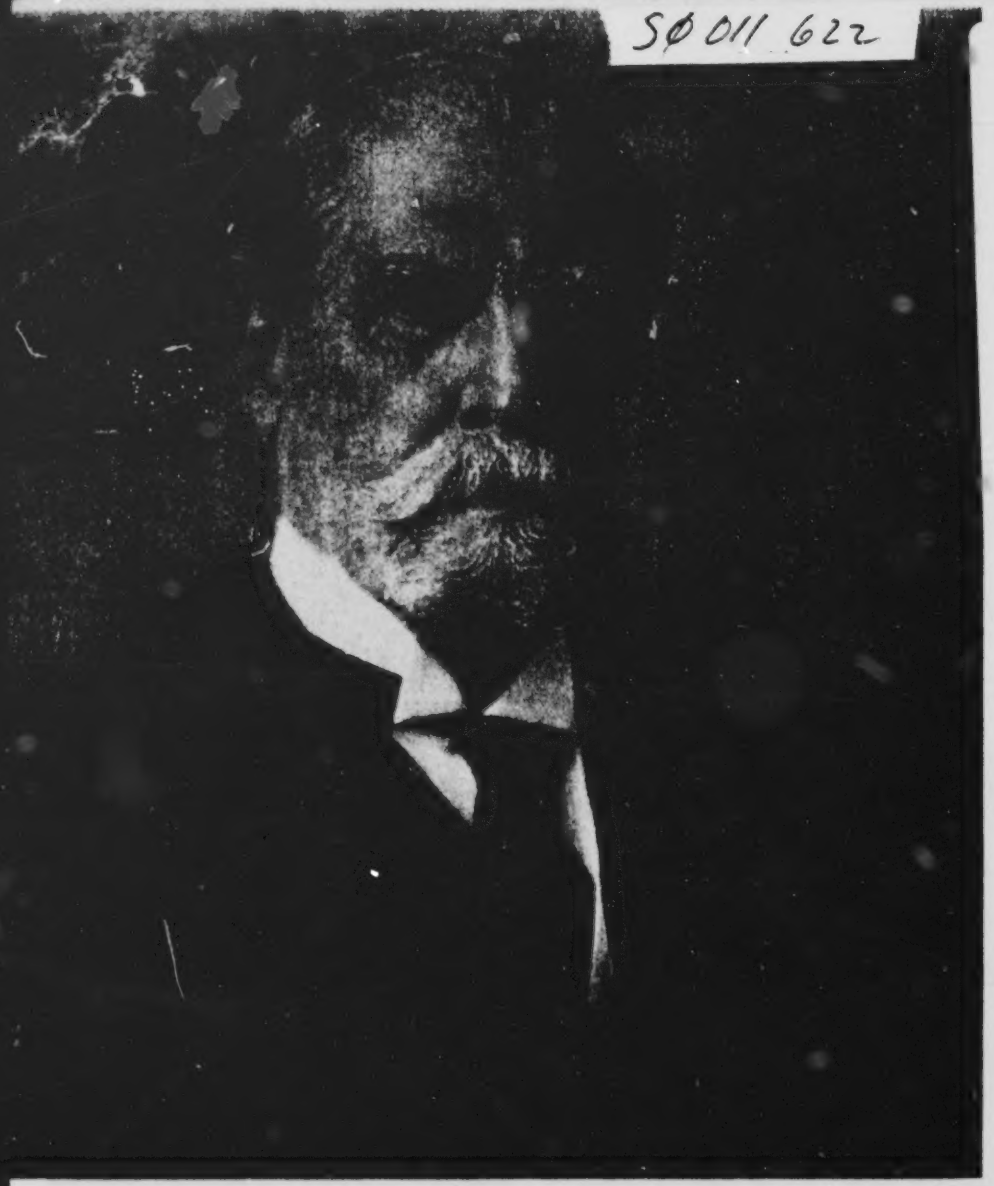

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HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes

Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Retired

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SECOND

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

SPONSORED by the CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE and the COMMISSION FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH EDUCATION of the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION of the United States with the advice and cooperation of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

MAY 8, 9, 10, 1947

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OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world;

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective;

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

REASONS FOR THE CONFERENCE

In calling the National Conferences on Citizenship, the Committee in charge had in mind from the beginning the following pertinent points:

That never before in the history of the world has it been so important to keep civic interest and participation at a high level;

That there are many leading national organizations which play a part or can play a part in developing better practices in good citizenship;

That these organizations are all working independently, with much duplication and with varying degrees of success;

That the contributions of these organizations have had real value, and that this value can be increased many fold if the various group efforts are coordinated;

That there are practices, programs, and techniques which are effective in developing good citizenship—and other practices, programs, and techniques which are of doubtful or negative value;

That there is need for a concerted nationwide effort to evaluate and attempt to improve the programs of various groups;

That there is often a tendency for sincerely interested groups to pay more attention to the dramatic and spectacular;

That there is likewise the danger of a group developing programs which have more results in the way of publicizing the group itself than in developing effective and constructive citizenship;

That the ineffectiveness of such programs often comes not from wilful desire to advertise one's good deeds, but from a lack of knowledge of types of programs which have proved successful;

That it would, therefore, be highly desirable to bring together in a conference representatives of the various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country who would give several days' serious attention to the concrete objectives of this conference.

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The quotations from Charles Evans Hughes in this volume are taken from *Conditions of Progress in Democratic Government*, one of a series of Yale lectures on "The Responsibilities of Citizenship" given in 1910, the year in which Mr. Hughes resigned as governor of New York to accept an appointment as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. (Published by the Yale University Press, 1910.)

ADDRESSES OF THE CONFERENCE

THE PURPOSES OF THE CONFERENCE

EARLE T. HAWKINS
Chairman of the Conference Committee

WE HAVE a job in America today. That job is to make our form of government, our way of life, work so well that it will speak for itself to the rest of the world. We must demonstrate to peoples everywhere that the American way of life is not merely something to which we give lip service but something we really take seriously.

We are sometimes prone to say fatalistically that democracy is bound to be inefficient. That, I insist, is a careless statement. Democracy is strikingly efficient and effective when the mass of people care enough about it to make it work. Former Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia said recently, "There is nothing wrong with this country that a good dose of democracy won't cure." Witness our loyalty, our energy, our urge, our effectiveness during the recent war period. We knew we had to produce—and we did!

But, with the end of the war, the apparent end of the emergency, our challenge disappeared, our efforts waned, and we slipped back into the easy way of leaving our civic responsibilities to other people. We have forgotten, all too easily, that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

Perhaps it is too much to expect that we continue to keep the high level of service and civic interest exhibited by the thousands who served in civilian defense, as block captains, as air raid wardens, as canteen hostesses, as USO sponsors, as airplane spotters, as fire wardens, as war bond sales chairmen and committeemen.

But it's still true that our country is strong in proportion to the percentage of citizens who really work for its welfare and its improvement. A dictatorship is strong in proportion to the regimented loyalty and blind obedience of its adherents. A democracy is strong in proportion to the intelligent loyalty and active participation of its citizens.

A dictatorship puts its emphasis on the dignity and worth of the state. A democracy believes in the dignity and worth of the individuals who make up the state.

We must admit that we have at times been a careless people. We had boundless physical resources, we had ever new frontiers, we had a constant stream of immigration from the Old World. Too many of us, I fear, had the naive concept that our freedom and our way of life had been permanently

secured by the struggles of our forefathers—that all we had to do was to appreciate and benefit from their efforts.

I believe our two recent world struggles have made us realize that democracy and freedom are never permanently secured, that they must be learned anew and earned anew by each generation. Too many persons still, however, tend to define our American way of life largely in terms of rights, and privileges, and liberties, and freedom. They forget that for every liberty there is a corresponding loyalty, that every right brings with it a responsibility, and that every privilege has its accompanying duty. We will continue to enjoy our rights, and our freedom, and our privileges only so long as enough of us take seriously our loyalty, our duties, and our responsibilities.

At the present moment there are many people in our country who are seriously concerned about the threat of certain foreign "isms" to our American way of life. They seem to have the feeling that certain ideologies will be "caught" by many of our citizens in much the way that a disease like measles is caught. Some fault may be found with the analogy, but let's follow it for a moment. When a disease is rampant in a neighborhood there are just two main ways to avoid being a victim. The first and most obvious is to destroy all the disease germs—to eliminate all the sources of infection. But that often becomes a sheer impossibility. The second way is to build up a strong, healthy body that will be in a position to resist any disease germs, and often, further, to make the body immune through the injection of toxoid or antitoxin.

We can never hope to eliminate from 130,000,000 people either distasteful ideas or the people who advocate those ideas. But we can strengthen the body politic so that insidious philosophies cannot take root.

I said the analogy of disease was not quite parallel, and I believe it is not. Communism, for example, isn't something that is caught, like a disease, by unwary people. More often it is eagerly accepted by misguided persons who see in it a chance, they think, to improve their lot. Communism feeds on oppression, on despair, on exploitation, on misery, on ignorance. The best defense against any hostile "ism" is not verbally attacking it, not in hunting down those persons who espouse it, not in shouting to the world how fine democracy is, but the less spectacular solution of strengthening democracy in every way possible, of building up all the bulwarks of real American citizenship.

We dare not leave the development of American citizenship to chance. We cannot expect persons growing up in America to be good citizens merely because they live here. Do you recall that during the early months of the war a boatload of Nazi spies was apprehended in the act of landing on Long Island? Were you aware of the striking fact that they had all

previously lived in America—one for nineteen years; that one had been a member of the Michigan National Guard; that another, born in Chicago, had been an American citizen? They had been, in America, waiters, mechanics, optical workers, hospital employees. What went awry? How could America mean so little to them that they could accept nazism in preference? I don't know. Perhaps their lives were warped. Perhaps greed killed out all other factors. Perhaps their life in America had not been a happy one. But it gives us pause for thought, doesn't it?

In calling this Second National Conference on Citizenship, the National Education Association is providing the opportunity for men and women of like interests, but varied backgrounds, to meet in groups where they can clarify their thinking, present their problems, gain from the give-and-take of wisely guided democratic discussion, and together assist in developing criteria, plans, and programs that will lead to still more effective practices in citizenship.

In planning the first conference held in Philadelphia last May, the National Education Association's Citizenship Committee stated the aims of the conference as follows:

1. To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world;
2. To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective;
3. To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

1. What are the qualities of a good citizen?
2. What are the criteria of a good citizenship program?
3. What are some of the most challenging problems facing citizenship in action today?
4. What are some significant successes in the way of programs promoting good citizenship?
5. What practices seem of doubtful value when their results are weighed against the effort required to carry them on?
6. How can civic leaders be encouraged to study effectively programs designed to promote good citizenship?
7. What are some effective ways of evaluating the success of citizenship programs?
8. How can we get interested groups to go about this business of developing citizenship in the most effective way without being so much concerned about "who gets the proper credit"?

One of the significant efforts to build citizenship in America today is going on in Detroit where the Detroit Citizenship Education Study under the joint sponsorship of the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University is seeking to find more effective ways of building good American citizens. The leaders of that study debated for many weeks the question of what is good citizenship, and came out finally with "The Five Qualities of a Good Citizen," as follows:

"The good citizen cherishes democratic values and bases his actions on them.

"He has respect for the dignity and worth of human personality. He has faith in man's ability to solve common problems through the process of thinking. He is concerned with the general welfare of all people; he believes that human culture belongs to all men. He is loyal to the principle of equality of opportunity for all people. All other qualities of the good citizen stem from and are a part of this primary quality.

"The good citizen recognizes the social problems of the times and has the will and the ability to work toward their solution.

"Problems of race, religion, economics, and politics, problems of the role of government in relation to the people; problems of the place of the United States in world affairs; problems of the equitable use of resources; problems of family, school, community, and neighborhood living.

"The good citizen is aware of and takes responsibility for meeting basic human needs.

"The need to be free from aggression, domination, or exploitation; the need for love and affection; the need to belong to groups and to be accepted by others; the need to take responsibility in cooperation with others; the need for a level of living which provides for adequate health, housing, and recreation; the need to have high standards of spiritual, ethical, and moral values. The failure to meet these basic human needs may result in the development of maladjustments which increase the intensity of social problems.

"The good citizen practices democratic human relationships in the family, school, community, and in the larger scene.

"He practices the kinds of human relationships that are consistent with a democratic society. He personalizes what happens to others, thereby earning respect and confidence. He develops his own ability to cooperate with others. He sincerely desires to help other persons. Through these practices, he builds good will as a resource for the future.

"The good citizen possesses and uses knowledge, skills, and abilities necessary in a democratic society.

"He needs skills and abilities in reading, listening, discussing, and observing. He uses these skills and abilities in order to gain understanding of the present structure and functioning of society; the working principles of representative government; the impact of pressure groups; the operation of the economic system; the social stratification of the population; and the relationship of all these to the complex social heritage. With knowledge, skills, and abilities as a basis, the good citizen needs to become more proficient in civic action."

This is an admirable list. Few thinking persons could disagree with any of its points. But how to make these qualities of a good citizen a part of the way of life of American people generally is a real challenge.

We still have in our country exploitation and discrimination. We still have religious and racial suspicions and prejudices. We still have places where one's name or family or background or religion or race may be either an asset or a handicap. We still too often have group pitted against group, each determined to "save face," to have the last word.

But, as a recent magazine article, "What's Right with America," points out, we also have a record of generosity toward other nations, a record of an increasing willingness to accept the responsibility of world leadership, a record of growing respect of civil liberties, a record of men and women of widely varying backgrounds working harmoniously and successfully together. How to make these and other virtues a permanent part of our heritage is our challenge.

A Committee Room of Faneuil Hall, Thursday, May 8, 1947. Participants in the Opening General Session—Dr. Leonard Carmichael, President of Tufts College; the Honorable Arthur W. Coolidge, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts; Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, Chairman of Citizenship Committee, National Education Association; and the Honorable Oscar W. Haussermann, Chairman of Local Conference Committee.

Photograph, courtesy The Christian Science Monitor

This we know: that preaching alone will not do it; that precept alone will not do it; that memorizing and reciting creeds is only a part of the whole process; that studying the lessons of history is only a contributing factor.

We need programs which recognize the three basic facets of citizenship —*knowledge, emotion, action.* Or, to put it another way, we need citizens who *know,* who *care,* who *participate.*

It is the hope and expectation of the National Education Association that, from the rich background, varied experiences, sincere interest, and wholehearted participation of you who attend the conference, there will come suggestions for better techniques, more intelligent use of resources, more effective programs of citizenship that will lead to an unprecedented number of our present and future citizens

who *know*

who know our heritage,
who know the problems that face us,
who know techniques of making democracy work;

who *care*

who are proud of our country's past,
who are concerned about its future,
who appreciate the seriousness of its problems;

who *participate*

who follow up this knowledge and this feeling with positive, constructive, dynamic contributions to the well-being of our community, our state, our country.

There is also the difficulty of realizing that government is not something apart from us, or above us, that it is we ourselves organized in a grand co-operative effort to protect mutual rights and to secure common opportunity and improvement.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

"YOURS ALSO THE GLORY . . ."

LEONARD CARMICHAEL
President, Tufts College

A THOROUGHLY trained sanitary engineer who can make it possible for a community to secure for the money available an adequate and pure water supply probably does more for his community than a dozen individuals in the town who merely talk about the advantages of good health.

In all discussions of citizenship it seems to me that the first point to be emphasized is that good citizenship shows itself in many different ways. I have heard many addresses on the importance of voting on election day and of watching the records made by elected and appointed officers. Of course, these actions are important and basic in a working democracy. But good citizenship involves much more than this.

Students of organic evolution have studied the gradual development of complex organisms from simple organisms. In the most primitive and least specialized form, independent cells maintain themselves and perform each in its own way all of the functions of living protoplasm. Such cells do nothing very well, but all things just well enough to survive.

At the next higher step, colonial organisms are formed in which clusters of cells are brought together. In these clusters each cell still performs almost all the functions of each other cell, but there are some advantages to cells in living together even as individuals. It is not until the true multicellular higher organisms are reached, however, that the more effective forms of biological life are possible.

The secret of the efficiency of the higher organisms is found in the differentiation and specialization of their unit cells. Thus in the human body there are cells specialized for literally thousands of purposes, including the elaboration and secretion of special chemicals, special sensitivity to various physical energies, an ability to contract, an ability to provide a rigid skeleton, and so forth. The health of the total, living, complex organism depends upon the health and the effective performance of the specialized functions of all its particularized constituent cells.

An analogy between the living, complex, multicellular organism and society has rightly attracted students of society for many years. In any thought of citizenship it seems important to remember that, in our complexly industrialized, urban America and in our modern, mechanized, agricultural America as well, citizenship depends upon a large number of different individuals. These individuals must each carry out specialized functions in as effective a manner as possible if society is to be as strong and healthy as possible.

An inflammation or even a cancer in a particular group of cells in the living organism may reduce the whole organism to impotence and death. Similarly, in our society any group of essential and specialized citizens who are not participating effectively in the whole social life of the community may well lead to the destruction or at least to the weakening of the society of which they are a part.

Education for citizenship, therefore, as I see it, involves proper general and specialized education. It further involves the proper selection and specialized training of the boys and girls of each generation for all the duties, both public and private, of our society.

Other speakers in this symposium have dealt with many basic and important topics in the field of citizenship. They have pointed out the part that civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and other groups may play in spreading an understanding in our country of a modern and working idea of citizenship. I believe that all educators agree concerning the importance of this work and agree that a knowledge of the basic elements common in the citizenship of all Americans should be part of the general education of every individual. To go back to my analogy, the specific duties of citizenship may be compared to some of the basic functions of protoplasm without which no cell, no matter how specialized, can exist.

Today, however, I should like especially to emphasize the fact that in education a real effort should be made to make the special citizenship duties of each professional and vocational group a part of training in such professions and vocations. I am afraid that our medical schools, in their proper concentration upon training for modern scientific medicine, may forget that the young doctor should learn that, as a citizen, he alone has knowledge and skills, which, if given freely to the community, may make the difference between health and disease in a whole segment of our population.

In a similar way the training for each specialized engineering field might well include some reference to the fact that the engineer is peculiarly able as a citizen to advise governmental officials concerning public works and the proper use of natural resources. Indeed there is probably not a single vocation or profession which should not consider as part of its program of training an adequate consideration of the contribution that that vocation or profession may make in a specialized way to the common life of society.

Education, broadly conceived, then, is basic to the development of better citizenship. Education alone can prepare Americans for more effective co-

operative living. In such education, however, it seems that the specialized contributions of particular groups to the common citizenship of the country should be given every emphasis. Such education is the only medicine that I know of which can give the hope that our children and our children's children may know a country and indeed a world that is not inflamed by the social ills which we in our time have known all too well. Educators, the problem is yours, but yours also is the glory of the ultimate victory!

Whether you like it or not, the majority will rule. Accept loyally the democratic principle. The voice of the majority neither is that of God nor of devil, but of men. Do not be abashed to be found with the minority, but on the other hand do not affect superiority or make the absurd mistake of thinking you are right or entitled to special credit merely because you do not agree with the common judgment. Your experience of life cannot fail to impress you with the soundness of that judgment in the long run, and I believe you will come to put your trust, as I do, in the common sense of the people of this country, and in the verdicts they give after the discussions of press, of platform and of ordinary intercourse.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

"CONCERNED ONE FOR ANOTHER . . ."

THE HONORABLE TOM C. CLARK
Attorney General of the United States

I AM happy, indeed, to be with you and to address this Second National Conference on Citizenship, dedicated to our country's welfare through the active strengthening of the nation's greatest bulwark, the individual citizen.

A National Conference on Citizenship, meeting annually, is a great dream, the fulfillment of which augurs well for the future of America.

Unfolding here is an idea that can become a powerful force for the building of a better America and a better world—a force needed now as never before in our history.

I heartily endorse the worthy objectives of this conference, especially those that emphasize:

"That the torch of liberty and freedom must be kept burning,

That the responsibilities of citizenship must be discharged, and

That the opportunities of citizenship must be appreciated."

Saint Paul, as he admonished the Corinthians, might instead have been writing an Epistle to Americans of 1947, when he said:

"But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; Nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.

Nay, much more than those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary: . . .

That there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another."

Pearl Harbor, Bataan, Corregidor, Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, North Africa, Italy, Normandy, the Battle of the Bulge, and all the other far-flung battles of World War II, waged that liberty should not perish from the earth, kindled a great flame of unity and patriotism in America's heart.

That flame must never die out!

But in peace time when the fire flickers low, it needs to be rekindled by "an active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry."

All too frequently we go to war to fight the enemy on foreign soil but, when the war is over, disregard the enemies of peace who are within our borders.

We are patriotic and work unselfishly and unceasingly for our country in war time.

We are willing to die for American principles in war, yet we fail to defend, and to live for, these same principles in peace.

The recent world crisis to us Americans was a battle for the soul of man—a fight for the worth and dignity of human personality, a fight for the basic American principle of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It was a struggle against a philosophy that recognized no inalienable rights, that made the individual a slave of the sovereign state, that crushed initiative, blocked social and cultural progress, and killed the joy of living.

Although we were conquerors on the field of battle, the fight is not over.

Philosophies, alien to our democratic concept, are still abroad in the world; they can grow into a real threat to our freedom here in America, and to that of the rest of mankind.

We would be untrue to ourselves, and false to mankind, if we minimized this peril.

I have pledged that all elements subversive to our form of government shall be eliminated, and I mean just that.

I wish to assure you, however, that there will be no witch hunts. The clock will not be turned back to the time when such activities took place near this historic setting of liberty.

We must ever remember that we have a Bill of Rights—a priceless charter of human liberty—which guarantees to the American citizen that his basic freedoms shall not be invaded.

Implied in our Bill of Rights, is a Bill of Responsibilities. One of my responsibilities is to see that federal laws are obeyed, and that the individual is protected in his basic rights.

For all of us, there can be no right without a corresponding duty, no privilege without a related responsibility—a responsibility for loyalty to the ideals of American citizenship 365 days in the year.

In the final analysis, our best defense against subversive elements is to make the ideal of democracy a living fact—a way of life such as to enlist the loyalty of the individual in thought, in feeling, and in behavior.

Bringing the American ideal to fruition is a challenge to this conference and to every citizen of our land.

With all of our glorious history, our country is not perfect. Many inadequacies still exist in the American way of life. Our ideal has never been fully realized.

A good America can become a better America.

Much remains to be done that will add to the happiness of our people and to the strength of the Nation.

We must be concerned with the problem of meeting the basic human needs, spiritual as well as physical.

We must make possible some of the good things of life to those who have too little.

We must provide equality of opportunity to millions now denied it in this land of equal opportunity.

We must do all of these things and more, otherwise we fail democracy and make its name a misnomer.

I observe that the sessions of this conference on citizenship have been largely devoted to an emphasis upon those traditional institutions of American community life—the home, the church, the school, and related activities that are essential to the normal growth and wholesome living of our citizens. That emphasis is not misplaced.

The home lies at the very foundation of effective American citizenship.

Parents are still the most important influence in the lives of their children. Through them, children should experience affection, security and guidance, indispensable elements in child growth.

Everything possible should be done to give vitality to family life.

Through parent education, family counseling service, forums, classes and institutes, the church, the school, and other forces in the communities can strengthen the home to the end that parents may better discharge their responsibilities in preparing youth to meet the problems of tomorrow.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that millions of Americans, especially youth recently returned from the battlefields of freedom, do not have a house in which to begin a home.

And some of our citizens are responsible for that!

The church can help to guide youth in the formation of a scale of values in keeping with the principles of democratic living.

In its spiritual and educational functions, the church can build right attitudes, war against pitfalls, and shape personal character.

One layman suggested a slogan for church effort in these words: "Better to build than rebuild; better to form than reform; better to prevent than repent."

Alert to the principle, "I am my brother's keeper," the church is a powerful force for good, particularly in helping to free the community of many evils that cause boys and girls to stumble into delinquency and crime.

The school is strategically placed to reach practically all children and many adults.

It reaches children at an early and impressionable age when character is shaped.

It, therefore, plays a vital part in the building of good citizens.

Yet, throughout America, many poverty-stricken and broken-down schools are mocking paradoxes to the idea of equal educational opportunity for all.

In this land where men are born free and equal, millions of our children are denied equal educational opportunities.

They are herded into over-crowded classrooms, which are staffed, in many instances, by teachers who are paid only enough to keep body and soul together, while their task is to build boys and girls for the serious responsibilities of citizenship.

More than two million children attend our lowest-average schools, on which only $500 a year per class room unit is spent.

Millions of other children are not in school at all.

Three million adults in the United States have never attended any kind of school.

Ten million adults have had so little schooling that they are virtual illiterates.

During the greatest crisis in our history, our nation lost a vast manpower because of illiteracy.

Five million young men, almost one out of three, were rejected for military service on account of physical, mental, and educational deficiencies.

Three hundred and fifty thousand school teachers have left the schools since 1939, many of them lost forever to the teaching profession.

The national average salary of a school teacher in 1943-44 was $1,728.

In four states, the statewide average salary was less than $1,000.

More than 40,000 teachers were paid less than $600 per year.

Since 1944, the salary level in some sections has advanced slightly, but the teacher's dollar has shrunk in value.

The incentive to enter teaching is gone when the elevator girl is paid more than the beginning teacher and I do not mean to convey the idea that the elevator girl does not earn her pay.

The American school teacher today has neither an adequate wage, nor professional security, both of which are essential to a successful teacher.

All our children are citizens of the United States. Children born in poverty-stricken areas are no less American citizens than those born in richer areas. The education of both groups is of vital national concern, for ignorance cannot be quarantined.

Sub-standard schools are a matter for serious consideration of the nation, regardless of where they are located. Wherever they exist, they leave a blight on the future citizens of our country.

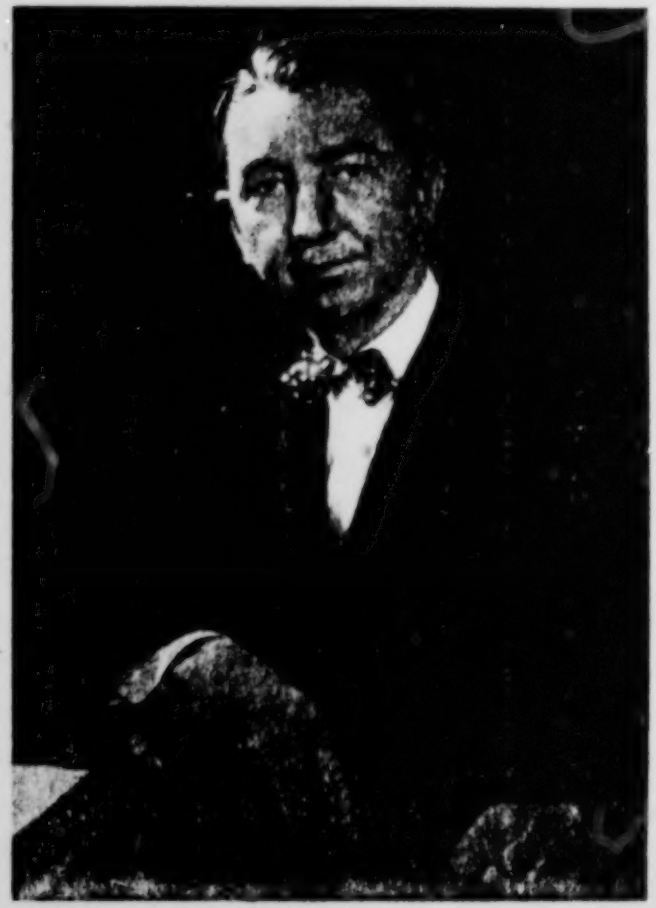
As good citizens, then, our first and urgent concern is to eliminate the slums of American education.

The home, the church, the school, and related activities are all a part of the community.

The ideals of this Conference will come to fruition only when they are translated into action in the home community.

For if we do not make democracy work locally, it will not work nationally.

We must, therefore, become community conscious and want wholesome



SPEAKER AT THE FINAL GENERAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE

The Honorable Tom C. Clark

Attorney General of the United States

communities in which to live and to bring up our children to do their part in the building of a better America.

If we have given little or nothing toward the development of our home town, we are isolationists of the worst type.

If we are not conscious of the slum situation across the railroad tracks, the growing delinquency problems, the broken-down school system, the recreation problem, and other community problems, we are failing miserably in our responsibility as citizens.

A certain city in the United States, with a population of around 40,000, has over 400 different organized groups, including civic, fraternal, religious, educational, labor, business, and patriotic. With an organized membership running into thousands devoted to community welfare, its people have an opportunity to assure living conditions that make for a meaningful, healthy, and happy life.

Some of our clubs, I am sorry to say, however, meet only to eat. Occasionally they vote a scholarship to some poor lad, or donate baskets to the Salvation Army for distribution to the poor at Christmas time.

Other clubs, mindful of their civic obligations, study their community's health problems, demand efficient and honest police departments, call for pure water supply, labor for adequate recreational facilities, urge people to register and vote, foster town meetings or other media for discussion of public questions, and perform many other duties that help to build their community.

We are not discharging our responsibilities of citizenship, when four million American children have defective eyesight, when one million have defective hearing, when three-fourths of our children need dental care, and when hundreds of thousands of American families can not afford adequate medical care.

We are asleep if we fail to remember that democracy is split assunder when prejudice and bigotry possess our people in their human relationships.

Sheet-covered breeders, carriers, and spreaders of hate and intolerance strike at the very heart of the institutions upon which our liberties rest.

Millions of our citizens do not take the trouble to vote in Presidential elections or to cast their ballots in local elections.

It is estimated that 47 percent, or more than 41 million, of the men and women of voting age failed to cast their ballots in the 1944 Presidential election.

Sixty-one percent, or 57 million, failed to vote in the 1946 elections.

With all of our emphasis upon suffrage, there has been a downward trend through participation in the ballot.

In 1896, 79.6 percent of those eligible voted.

In 1944, 53 percent cast their ballots.

In 1946, only 39 percent went to the polls, a situation to be considered seriously when we discuss strengthening American citizenship.

Some of our best citizens from chambers of commerce, civic clubs, patriotic organizations, ministerial bodies, bar and medical associations, and women's clubs still subscribe to the principle that they cannot afford to take part in politics.

They complain of corruption and inefficiency in government, yet miss the precious American opportunity for bettering conditions by their failure to vote.

Politics is nothing more or less than the science of government. Our government, therefore, will be good or bad in the same proportion that our citizens participate in politics.

All of us need to get on more intimate terms with democracy, know its needs, become aware of its meaning, and imbued with its spirit.

When we become concerned one for another, there will be no schism in the body about which Saint Paul spoke in the long ago.

Our America—vast, rich, and powerful—living and growing—holds forth a magnificent challenge, not only to our own people, but to liberty-loving peoples everywhere.

An America that sends forth into the world heart-warming rays of happiness and security and good will—and peace for all—must not fail.

Prize your birthright and let your attitude toward all public questions be characterized by such sincere democratic sympathy, such enthusiasm for the common weal, such genuine love of justice, and such force of character, that your life to the full extent of your talent and opportunity shall contribute to the reality, the security, and the beneficence of government by the people.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

"THE PRIVILEGE AND THE RESPONSIBILITY . . ."

FLEET ADMIRAL ERNEST J. KING

Former Commander in Chief and Chief of Naval Operations United States Navy

WE ARE met for participation in the Second National Conference on Citizenship, sponsored by the National Education Association of the United States.

The chief purpose of the National Conference on Citizenship is to emphasize the privileges—and the responsibilities—of citizens of the United States. A principal factor is the taking note of the political coming-of-age not only of the native-born but also of those born in other countries who have qualified themselves for citizenship.

President Woodrow Wilson said: "A nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family, whereas America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind."

It has been the practice for some years in many communities to dignify and enhance the attainment of citizenship by naturalization by making a ceremonial of it. It would seem that this practice should become universal. I note that it is the policy of the conference that native-born citizens as well as naturalized citizens shall be formally inducted into the new privileges and responsibilities that are theirs. It is fitting that an impressive ceremony be held so that they may—one and all—realize the change that has come into their lives.

As to citizenship, I do not think we can do better than to quote to new citizens what some of our truly great citizens have said.

First among them is George Washington:

"Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles."

John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States, said:

"This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of Providence, that an inheritance so

proper and convenient for a band of brethren, united to each other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties.

"Similar sentiments have hitherto prevailed among all orders and denominations of men among us. To all general purposes we have uniformly been one people; each individual citizen everywhere enjoying the same national rights, privileges, and protection."

Next let us hear from Theodore Roosevelt:

"There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says that he is an American, but something else also, is not an American at all."

These remarks should serve to make clear that citizens—old and new—will do well to omit any associations that derive from former allegiances; that we hereafter resolve that we have no political interests except those of the United States; that we never forget that we are "Americans all"—all of the time—and in every way!

It will be already apparent that I am unlikely to say to you anything that you do not already know; but it seems to me that it is well for all of us, old as well as new citizens, occasionally to review the fundamentals of citizenship. After all, repetition is a form of emphasis!

I shall have little to say about the glories and the benefits of being a citizen of the United States but rather will I run true to my lifetime of military service and so lay stress upon the responsibilities of citizenship.

It is always well, I think, to go back to original sources. No matter how many times we refer to them there is always profit, and even inspiration, to be gained. I have, therefore, to commend to your attention this extract from the Declaration of Independence drafted in 1776:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . ."

The second reference which I commend to your attention, as citizens, is the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, drafted in 1787:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Let us take note of the words of the Declaration of Independence—"deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Note the

opening phrase of the Preamble: "We, the people of the United States"—which establishes the basic premise of our government, democracy. Democracy, of course, has come to have several meanings. What we are concerned with is that form which is representative government—commonly called a republic.

I wish to urge upon you that you spread information among our citizens, new and old, as to the principles of government that are in effect in other countries. Acquaint them with the meanings of communism, socialism, fascism, totalitarianism, and other "isms." Do not let them emulate the ostrich and ignore or decry these things, for they are living forces in the world today. Let them be studied to ascertain their merits, if any, and their demerits, the better to understand and appreciate the benefits of the democracy that is synonymous with "United States of America." Incidentally, I number myself among those who believe that our democracy must be a militant democracy; for we are, beyond any doubt, in contrast—in competition, perhaps even in conflict—with militant political creeds such as communism. All of us should know, as citizens, that our cause in the late war was not won by assuming a "do-nothing" attitude.

Now, for a moment, I wish to invite your attention to two other important matters that enable citizens to participate in our own government:

We must urge our citizens, old as well as new, to participate in their governments—local, state, and national. Urge them to inform themselves as to the issues involved in their several localities, in their several states, and in the field of national affairs. Urge them to inform themselves as to the character and capabilities of the several candidates. I understand it to be the purpose of these citizenship conferences to promote such information and foster such participation, which is, in fact, the essence of democratic government. Indeed, participation must be effective if we are to have democracy survive! My own feeling is so strong that I would consider imposing a penalty on the citizen who does not vote!

We must support our government financially: keep the war and savings bonds we now have; buy savings bonds to the utmost that our means will allow. Let us lend our aid thus to keep in balance the federal budget, to reduce the national debt, and so do our part to "promote the general welfare" on which the future of our country so largely depends.

I am sure you will not be surprised to have me urge you, as citizens, to take an active interest in those national affairs which derive from that phrase of the Preamble just quoted, which reads, "provide for the common defense." There are, I think, three points that merit your interest and attention as citizens concerned with "the common defense." They are:

Men, machines, morale

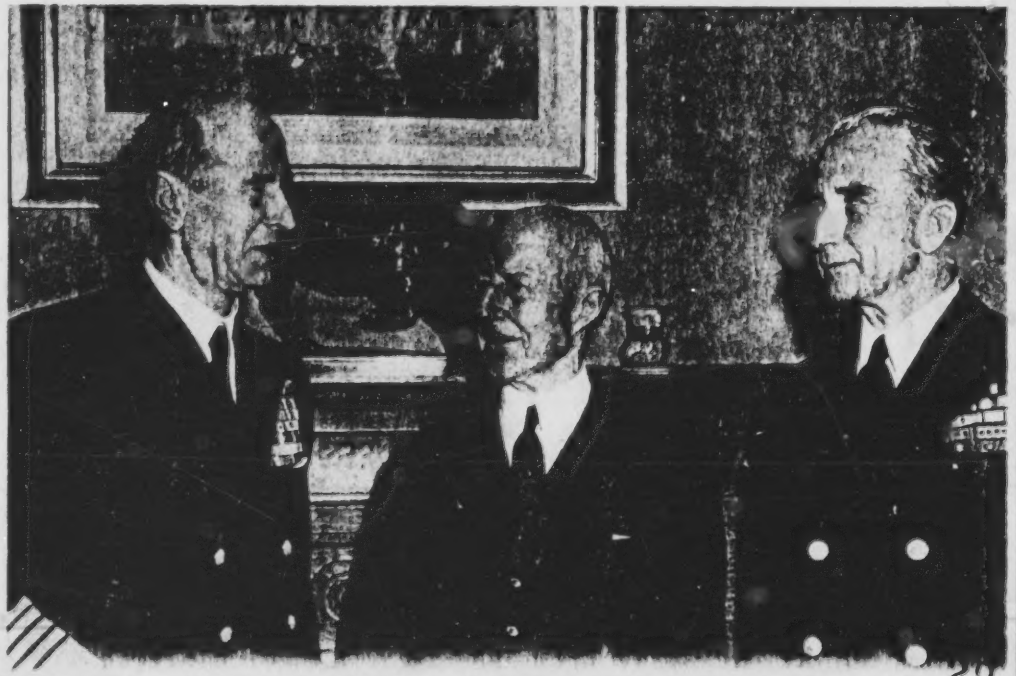
Universal military training

Keeping the peace.

As we hear much in this day and age of machines, let us look at one of the basic facts of life—and of war. We hear so much that we do not, all of us, stop to think that war is not different, in principle, from what it has been since before the dawn of recorded history.

Modern warfare, mechanized and atomic, is no more than evolution from the time when men first fought each other with stones and clubs, down through the ages to this day of mechanized ships of the sea, mechanized ships on land, and mechanized ships of the air. But do not forget that machines are as nothing without the men who man them and give them life.

Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King (left), United States Navy, at the home of Charles Francis Adams (center), former Secretary of the Navy, in Boston, May 9, 1947. Admiral Morton Deyo (right), Commandant of the First Naval District, accompanied Admiral King, who spoke at the Third General Session.



War is men against men—mechanized and atomic war is still men against men. Men are not effective, individually or collectively, unless they are imbued with high morale. Morale may be defined as a state of mind wherein there is confidence, courage, and zeal among men united together in a common effort. In brief, it may be described as mental—and spiritual—teamwork.

Again, in the matter of "common defense," I commend to your consideration some views on the subject of "universal military training." Please take note that efforts are being made to confuse this issue by calling it "conscription," which is quite a different matter, effective only in time of war.

All American citizens hope and expect that, through the operations of the United Nations, there will come a lasting world peace. However, in this world of realism, we must keep ourselves prepared to support, by realistic methods if necessary, our idealistic hopes and efforts looking toward enduring peace throughout the world.

As all of you know, modern warfare has already become monstrous, swift, and terrible. The demonstrated and foreseeable developments in jet propulsion, supersonic speeds, strastosphere flying, underwater devices, and other technical and operational advances, impress upon us that we need to view our future security with proper foresight and sound judgment. It is not the responsibility of the armed forces, alone, to insure national security. It is the responsibility of all citizens to see to it that we are prepared against sudden and unforeseen emergencies. It is the responsibility of the Congress to provide us with the means to be prepared. Adequate measures of preparedness—political, economic, military, industrial—are essential measures of national insurance with worldwide effects.

Such insurance means we must be ready to expand quickly our overseas line of defense, such as the Navy, in time of national emergency. It follows that, in addition to the regular armed forces, we must have a citizen reserve, and it must be trained before the emergency is upon us. A trained citizen naval and military reserve can be obtained, and maintained, only through universal military training. While it is true that, for the time being, we can call on the veterans of World War II we cannot afford to let ourselves forget that Old Man Time, like Old Man River, keeps rolling along!

As a fellow-citizen and fellow-taxpayer, as well as a naval officer of over 40 years' service, I emphasize the democratic nature of universal military training. I believe that every man and woman is obligated to assist in the maintenance of our national security. In addition, we would all profit by the individual's better understanding of his responsibilities to his country, his family, and himself. Universal military training is a democratic

process aimed at that end. The primary purpose of a year of universal military training is not to militarize the nation for purposes of making war offensively, but to provide essential defensive security—the better to "provide for the common defense."

Now I come to a question I know is close to the hearts of all: How Shall the Peace Be Kept? Not only do we contrast in our minds peace and war, but we consider peace and strife as opposites. What I am most afraid of is that we are too prone to think of peace as a "do-nothing" state of affairs. I can say to you, as one American citizen to his fellow-citizens, that it does not seem to me that a "do-nothing" attitude about peace is going to get us anywhere. We must, if you will, paraphrase our talk about waging war. Why should we not wage peace? Why should we not make as much effort to win the peace as we do to win the war? Why should there not be militant peace, and not for a few weeks or a few months, or a few years, but always? Can we not wage the peace under the United Nations Charter, which is the adopted policy of our country?

All citizens must inform themselves as to what is the foreign policy of the United States. As citizens, many of whom are veterans, you will all agree that, in the military sense, it certainly is to maintain the integrity of the United States and its overseas possessions. Next, the security of the Western Hemisphere is premised on the principles that are manifested by the Monroe Doctrine and by the Act of Chapultepec. This can be done under the Charter of the United Nations.

And, finally, of course, we must do our part, not only in a military but in an economic and political sense, to make the United Nations work. We must be ready to support it, may I say, not only by words but by deeds! I am sure that you will not be surprised if, after 40 years in service, I say that I believe in those words which are attributed to Theodore Roosevelt, "Speak softly, but carry a big stick."

To sum up, as citizens we have the privilege and responsibility which should impel us to be effective citizens. We should, therefore, take an active interest in all phases of government—local, state, and national. We should support the financial and foreign programs of our country. We should endeavor to understand and to foster the need of the United States to keep itself in a state of effective military readiness—provide for the common defense. Last but not least, we must be diligent and steadfast in our endeavors to see to it that a militant peace shall be waged as the alternative—and antidote—to the possibility of another world war.

I urge your attention to some words uttered at the close of another war, by Abraham Lincoln in his Second Inaugural Address:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the

right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace . . . with all nations."

And now, in closing, let me read "The American's Creed," written by William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House of Representatives, and accepted by the House on behalf of the American people on April 3, 1918—29 years ago—during World War I:

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies."

Gratifying as is the vast extent and variety of our accomplishment, one cannot be insensible to the dangers to which we are exposed. No greater mistake can be made than to think that our institutions are fixed or may not be changed for the worse. We are a young nation and nothing can be taken for granted. If our institutions are maintained in their integrity, and if change shall mean improvement, it will be because the intelligent and the worthy constantly generate the motive power which, distributed over a thousand lines of communication, develops that appreciation of the standards of decency and justice which we have delighted to call the common sense of the American people.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

CONFERENCE WORK GROUP REPORTS

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SCHOOL TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

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THE school group reaffirmed the statement of the 1946 conference relating to the characteristics of citizenship. It declared that we desire for ourselves and others these citizenship qualities:

1. Assumption of personal responsibility.
2. Loyalty to the democratic way of life.
3. Concern and respect for others' opinions and personalities, irrespective of race, color, creed, or social or economic status.
4. Ability to cooperate (work with others), irrespective of race, color, creed, or social or economic status.
5. Ability and will to help solve social problems.
6. Participation in social and civic action.

To achieve these, the group agreed that major attention must be given to student participation in class and all school activities and to the improvement of the preparation of teachers. Out of its discussion came these

Conclusions and Recommendations

I. There must be a broader student participation in democratic civic education.

A. Communities cooperatively should describe their needs for civic education. Hence,

1. The assets and deficiences of civic experience should be explored to determine the desired emphases of civic education.
2. This community analysis should be carried on by students, faculty, and community representatives.
3. Each student generation should set its own standards, periodically to be restated jointly by students, parents and other adults, and faculty and administration.
4. A school-community council will aid in such continuing analysis.
5. Real community problems should be faced and should be made a part of civic education.

B. Each class and activity should make positive contribution to the knowledge, the skills, and the actions of citizens. Hence,

1. Every class should seek the maximum time and emphasis on civic education.
2. Each school activity should be made an opportunity for the development of civic skills.
3. The basic literature of citizenship should be used wherever possible in all classes at all grade levels. All reading and literature activities should deal with the subject matter of citizenship.
4. Each class should use, wherever possible, the current economic, social, and political controversies, such as race and religious conflicts and tensions, problems of home and family living, the resolution of labor and management problems, the development of a proper relationship between government and business, *etc.*
5. Each class and activity should emphasize basic civic skills such as problem solving and democratic participation.
6. Problem solving should be carried on at all grade levels and should be consistent with the level of maturity of the student. It should be substituted for authoritarian methods from the kindergarten through college education. Problems of society should be presented as in process of solution, with no "answers in the back of the book." An essential part of the process, however, is a knowledge of the positive successes in problem solving which experience offers. As a part of problem solving, emphasis should

be placed on the development of critical thinking with special reference to the viewpoints and prejudices coming from the press, radio, and movies.

7. Students should learn to work cooperatively in class and school activities. The teacher must sacrifice domination and formal discipline to giving more experiences in group work. The role of the teacher is that of colleague and friend, rather than taskmaster.

8. Students should be encouraged to take positive action in the solution of current problems. While such action may be taken as individuals or as groups of students, opportunities should be offered to work with those older and younger than themselves. Especially should opportunities be sought to work with adult groups and to support group action. This may involve writing letters, joining forums and mass meetings, or aiding in community political action. The risks involved in such a program must be shared by the whole community as a necessary part of real civic education.

C. Students, faculty, and non-teaching personnel should participate in school planning, management, and government. Hence,

1. Activity planning should be largely done by students, with faculty aiding where needed. This should extend to budget making and fund raising as well as policy determination.

2. At each grade level opportunities should be sought and found for student participation in curriculum planning. This may range from suggestion of classroom materials of instruction to membership on curriculum planning committee. Such participation must be based on the maturity of the class and its previous experience in student-teacher planning.

3. Opportunities should be sought and found for the cooperative solution of school problems involving real choices on problems.

II. There must be an improvement in the preparation of teachers.

A. Liberal arts colleges, teachers colleges, and schools of education must improve general education. Hence,

1. Education must relate to life, its problems, and participation in the solution of problems.

2. Subject matter should be drawn from areas dealing with social, economic, and political conflicts. Courses should deal with the vital needs of youth, including courtship, marriage, and parenthood.

3. Skills in problem solving should extend to patterns of group prejudice, and efforts should be made to reduce tensions and conflicts. Aid must be given students and parents in resolving common problems.

4. Class activities should contribute to the basic civic needs of youth, yielding the knowledge, skills, and programs of action necessary to effective citizenship.

5. Classes and the school should be organized as democratic rather than authoritarian patterns of behavior.

6. There should be extensive student participation in community activities, providing real democratic experiences.

B. Teachers colléges and schools of education should provide a high level of teacher education. Hence,

1. Superior persons should be encouraged to enter and remain in the teaching profession.

2. Faculties should be selected from those who have shown skill in teaching and in democratic action.

3. Students should know community organization, participate in community activities, and use the community as a laboratory for school planning and curriculum development.

4. Emphasis should be placed on programs of curriculum development leading to civic education. Students should have experience in cooperative curriculum planning in the college and in the schools.

5. Teachers and student teachers should seek new techniques for civic education, and should be alert to experimentation leading to better practices.

6. Student teaching should be provided in superior classes and schools which use activity and problem methods and which emphasize problem solving procedures rather than in poor schools which follow archaic methods.

7. Students should have experiences in civic and educational groups in addition to school experiences. This may amount to interneships in civic action in the community and state at one level and to membership in action groups at another.

8. All teachers must be prepared as teachers of civic education.

C. Teachers colleges and schools of education should provide aids to teachers in service. Hence,

1. In visitation, extension, and advisement, encouragement should be given to democracy in school administration. Teachers should be aided to participate in school government and in community activities.

2. Teachers and administrators should be aided in the development of skills in democratic school administration.

3. In-service programs, such as workshops, should be encouraged and supported. These would deal with the problems of the school and solutions should be sought within the framework of sound pedagogy and effective democracy.

4. Opportunities should be provided by the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association and other educational organizations for building a clearinghouse of good civic education practice and materials of instruction.

Following the recommendation of the 1946 conference, a section was set up to answer the following question:

"What is the nature and scope of the educational examination which should be given to applicants for naturalization to determine, as required by the nationality law and regulations, whether they have a 'fair knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States' and are 'qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities of a citizen of the United States'?" [1]

Recommendations from the Section on Naturalization

I. Recommendation concerning the type of examination which should be used for naturalizing citizens

A. What are the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States?

1. The people as the source of government
2. The delegated and reserved powers as indicated by the federal system of our government
3. Supremacy of law
4. Equality of the individual before the law
5. Democratic government as indicated by our representative system
6. The freedoms as indicated in the Bill of Rights
7. The adaptability of the Constitution to change

[1] *Report of First National Conference on Citizenship*. NEA. 1946. p. 60.

8. The separation of powers into three principal branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, together with the checks and balances.

B. What would constitute a "fair knowledge and understanding" of these fundamental principles?

A "fair knowledge and understanding" of such principles would manifestly require more than mere ability to repeat parrot-like, formal definitions of such principles without comprehending their meaning. Probably the most acceptable way by which to determine definitely whether the candidate knows fairly and understands those principles would be through questioning him as to their application in specific situations, and what action could be taken in those situations.

C. What are the duties and responsibilities of a citizen of the United States?

The examination of a candidate for naturalization is to determine his knowledge and understanding of these principles and whether he is qualified to perform the duties and responsibilities of a citizen of the United States. The correct answer to this question might take any number of forms. Duties, responsibilities, and obligations of citizenship arise in almost every relationship of life. In connection with the granting of naturalization they are usually thought of in terms of participation in government, although they cut across almost every area of activity.

There are attitudes toward the home, the members of one's family, neighbors, the community at large, agencies of government, and public welfare in general.

Still another approach would be the determination of the nature of the obligations which one owes to certain groups and from which he receives benefits, such as the groups concerned with work, religion, recreation, the neighborhood, education, discussion, health, politics, and government. Some of these obligations would be of a moral nature, such as fidelity, good will, fair play, honesty, and public spiritedness. Then there are the attributes of cooperation and industry.

D. What requisite should the candidate for naturalization satisfy to show that he is qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities of a citizen of the United States?

This question would be answered if the candidate had the knowledge and understanding mentioned in question two and fulfilled the duties and responsibilities included in question three.

E. What methods and techniques should be employed by the naturalization examiner of the service in reaching a solution of the problem for the purpose of making appropriate recommendations to the Court?

1. The person whose application is being considered should first be put at ease by some discussion of matters of interest to him.

2. He should be greeted in a friendly manner, and possible fear and anxiety of the result of the examination removed.

3. The questions should be as simple and clear as possible, and presented informally.

4. To maintain continuity the questions should be adapted to the preceding responses of the applicant.

5. A quiet and conversational tone of voice should be employed.

6. Questions should not be asked suddenly or harshly.

7. The discussion is intended to determine both the knowledge and the ability of the applicant to use the knowledge.

8. Note taking by the examiner should be kept to a minimum in order to preserve the informal atmosphere and to keep the applicant at ease.

9. Questions must be selected with care and be pertinent to the ultimate goal.

10. Questions should be selected so as to determine whether the candidate realizes and accepts the responsibilities of citizenship.

II. Recommendation concerning adult education

The contribution of the schools to better adult American citizenship should be developed through cooperative efforts with community organizations and agencies and should include instruction which will equip adult citizens to participate more actively and more intelligently in all phases of our democratic way of life.

It is well to advise young men to vote and to take an active part in political affairs, but it is just as important, indeed more important, that they should understand that their first duty is so to conduct themselves in pursuing the aims of their individual careers that they will never prove false to their allegiance to the community.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Chairman
WILLIAM O. PENROSE
Harvard University Graduate School of Education

Recorder
BEVERLY BOYD
Executive Secretary, Social Relations Department
Federal Council of Churches

Resolution one:

Whereas: This group is concerned with citizenship, and

Whereas: A person is a citizen of groups as small as the family and as large as "One World," and

Whereas: It is our conviction that a person who is a good citizen of a large group is as a consequence a better citizen of any lesser group, and

Whereas: We believe that world citizenship is vitally essential,

Be it resolved: That this group on "Strengthening the Contribution of the Church to Better American Citizenship" affirm the necessity for education for citizenship in "One World" simultaneously with education for citizenship in the family, the church, the city, and the nation; and

That this resolution go to Congressmen concerned with education for citizenship, to the United Nations Committee on Human Welfare, and to church and synagogue organizations.

Resolution two:

Whereas: Within recent years the use of migrant workers has been extended to all sections of the country, and it is thus important that church and synagogue groups become aware of these people as one of their community responsibilities, and

Whereas: Migratory agricultural workers are deprived of full citizenship because of inadequate provisions for their health, housing, education, and wages, and

Whereas: The livelihood of the migrants is further threatened by the increasing mechanization of agriculture, and

Whereas: Their tremendous social needs can be adequately met only by a

federal program with funds to meet these needs and with power to enforce protective legislation, and

Whereas: Legislation is at present before the Congress which will liquidate the present federal program,

Be it resolved: That we members of the group on "Strengthening the Contribution of the Church to Better American Citizenship" urge the churches and synagogues to concern themselves actively with the needs of America's displaced persons; to sponsor child care, health, and welfare programs in local communities wherever migrants reside; to urge upon our legislators the need for the defeat of present legislation which will eliminate federal concern for this problem; and to encourage them to sponsor bills which will revive and extend federal protective legislation; and

That copies of this resolution be sent to federal agencies, and Congressional committees that are concerned with this problem, as well as to church and synagogue groups.

Resolution three:

Whereas: The major responsibility of this conference work group is to make specific and definite recommendations designed to aid the church and synagogue groups in American society in strengthening their practical contribution to the development of an enlightened citizenship, and

Whereas: A basic democratic principle of adequate programs of education for all American children must be supported by thoughtful action at this time, and

Whereas: We know that many states are still unable to finance and operate adequate programs of public education without federal aid and therefore millions of American children are denied adequate educational opportunities, and

Whereas: As American churchmen we are convinced that the best possible education of American youth is essential for the preservation of democracy, and

Whereas: Specific official action to remedy unfair conditions of educational opportunity in many areas of our country has been inadequate,

Be it resolved: That the work group on "Strengthening the Contribution of the Church to Better American Citizenship," sponsored by the National Education Association, affirm its support of federal aid for tax-supported, free, public, elementary and secondary schools; and

That a copy of this resolution be sent to the proponents of Bill H.R. 140 and S. 170 in our United States Senate and House of Representatives, as well as to church and synagogue groups.

Resolution four:

Whereas: Religious *teaching* and *belief* about brotherhood far exceed the *practice* of brotherhood in American religious institutions, and

Whereas: The pattern of racial segregation and discrimination in American society threatens the welfare of democracy in our country and will continue to injure the prestige of America in the eyes of the world, and

Whereas: It is the responsibility of religious institutions of all kinds to be an example and lead the advance to real brotherhood,

Be it resolved: That we urge the religious institutions of America to examine their own racial practices and to undertake a systematic program which will lead to the same rights for all, regardless of race, creed, or national background.

That we further urge that such a program be specific and continuous. Not only churches and synagogues, but other institutions under religious auspices such as hospitals, schools, and social agencies should examine and correct, if necessary, their own membership and employment practices. They should work with others for passage of anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and fair employment practices laws on both state and federal levels. They should work locally for the abolition of segregated and discriminatory practices in such fields as housing, education, health, recreation, and civil rights. If they will, religious groups have the power to provide leadership which will result in a "color blind" society.

That copies of this resolution be sent to community chests and councils, to other national community organizations, and to church and synagogue groups.

Recommendations to go to churches and synagogues, and to social action groups within these organizations:

Since the informed citizen and church member is largely unable to make his opinions felt as an individual, it is strongly urged that all churches and synagogues create groups to study and act on political and social issues.

We recognize the fact that the success of democracy depends on an informed and active citizenry. Accordingly, we recommend that every local church and synagogue inform its members of the name and official duties of all their major elected political officers—local, state, and national. This information might, for example, be carried in local church bulletins or other publications or placed on bulletin boards.

We further recommend that local churches and synagogues bring to the attention of their members non-partisan summaries, such as those prepared by the National League of Women Voters, of the accomplishments and records of their elected officers.

Program suggestions to be sent to church and synagogue groups:

A. Citizenship Day in churches and synagogues

In many communities the civic celebration of Citizenship Day will be the center of public attention. However, the churches have a less conspicuous but equally important part to play. If the spiritual elements implicit in this observance can be recognized at services in thousands of churches and synagogues, the tone of our citizenship will receive a healthy impetus. The following suggestions are offered to the churches and synagogues:

1. Cooperate with the civic and community organizations in the observance of the day, and publicize the day in church and synagogue bulletins and periodicals

2. Plan special united services

3. Where local congregations have newly naturalized citizens, arrange to give them special recognition in a service

4. Give due recognition to young men and women who have recently come of voting age

5. Plan discussion of the day in the various churches and synagogues

6. Emphasize through all available channels the spiritual values underlying American democracy, and appeal for rededication by all Americans to responsible and active citizenship.

The National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C., has available, at 25 cents a copy, a booklet entitled *National Citizenship Day*, which contains helpful information and suggestions, directed particularly at observances in schools through including a wider range of interest. The Association has recently published a revision of an exceedingly valuable book entitled *The American Citizen's Handbook*, which contains an abundance of suitable material. Either the 1946 edition or the earlier (1941) edition of the *Handbook* will be found in most libraries.

B. Wider activities

Believing that study and discussion are not sufficient to result in understanding and appreciation of democracy as a way of life, this group recommends, in addition to study and discussion, activity definitely planned to widen the experience of the church and synagogue groups in phases of American life in which their experience is limited or altogether lacking. Examples might be in the field of race relations, nationality groups, and labor.

The discussion group on "Strengthening the Contribution of the Church to Better American Citizenship" requested that the following letter be included with its report:

22 Gray Gardens, East
Cambridge 40, Mass.
May 7, 1947

Group B, Church in Citizenship
Second National Conference on Citizenship
National Education Association
Hotel Statler
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Friends:

As a student of citizenship I regret my inability to attend the conference, but I should like, subject to your willingness, to submit a thought for your consideration.

This is the hope that you will by no means miss the definite challenge to the churches to offer practice in democratic procedures. Even the highly centralized churches can do this in their subordinate local groups and organizations. There is no church or denomination that should avoid this duty to American ideals and practices.

A church should give its members, and particularly its younger members, practice in the exercises of nominations and elections, appointing and operations of committees, uses of constitution (or charter), bylaws, standing rules, rules of procedure, parliamentary audits, agenda, and organizational business. Especially important is the distinguishing among executive, legislative, and judicial functions, and their co-ordination and balance.

"Advisers" for such organizations should educate, not advise or control.

More than half of the church members are in local churches which have democratic control of their own local affairs, but these churches too often give away their democracy to an executive board. It should be reassumed by business meetings long enough and often enough to work out business and procedure by its own active membership.

If a local church will "quarrel out" its own problems, among members pledged to a brotherly love assumed in the principles of the church, this habit will transfer to the larger world outside, where love is too often missing.

Thanking you, and wishing for a pleasant conference, I am

Sincerely yours,

John M. Brewer

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Chairman

HUBERT HURT

Director of Research, Boy Scouts of America

Recorder

ABBIE CONDIT

National Recreation Association

WE SEE the development and maintenance of a sound citizenry as an end product of the effective operation and cooperation of all the constructive forces of community living. We see delinquency, ill health, want, and other special ills as resulting largely from the failure of one or more of these positive environmental factors. We believe that people outrank things; hence the development of people outranks all other activities. We believe that the outstanding dearth in our modern world is caring for others. That *sense of mutuality*, which we need so sorely, is more than being our *brother's keeper*—it is being more fully our *brother's brother* in a social climate where a growing equality of opportunity outlaws special privilege. We covet for our communities a higher rating for the common good and conscious cooperation in planning and action among the multiplying agencies in our midst.

Our group subdivided into three workshops under a unanimous directive, viz., to try to make something happen about the concerns of this conference—something to happen at the local level. I herewith report to you their three urgent recommendations:

I. Some Criteria

The better citizen grows in the better environment. This committee believes that among the essentials for the development of that better environment are:

A. Knowledge and appreciation of good government

B. Active interpretation of the ideals of good citizenship through practice and an example of local good government

C. Assuming of individual and group responsibility for local good government

D. Providing broadened opportunities for youth participation in all matters related to citizenship.

Committee on Some Criteria

CLAYTON JOHNSON, National Exchange Clubs, *Chairman*
MARY COTTER, Boston Public Welfare
FRED W. SMITH, Lions International
MRS. REGINALD PARKER, Junior Red Cross
DORIS FOSTER, Camp Fire Girls

II. Action at State and Community Levels

The committee, recognizing the need for continuing action on a nationwide basis, recommends that the National Conference on Citizenship sponsor annual state conferences on citizenship in each of the 48 states in the immediate future; that each state conference develop the program on local levels through community councils or similar representative citizen groups; and that such bodies be organized to activate the citizenship program through the integration of the various social, civic, intellectual, labor, veterans, youth, business, farm, religious, and other related groups.

The committee believes that, in order to carry forward these objectives, community groups should be urged to develop plans for leadership training, for wider use of the public schools and other community facilities, and for cooperation among local available agencies and resources for an effective citizenship—a citizenship that will be capable of dealing constructively with good government, proper use of the franchise, law observance and enforcement, naturalization and Americanization intergroup understanding, rehabilitation of veterans and the handicapped, child welfare and youth needs, economic planning, public health, housing, parent and other adult education, and family counseling.

The committee further believes that the total community resources should be mobilized behind a positive plan for the development of an American citizenship that will lead to effective, intelligent world citizenship.

The committee finally recommends that the National Conference on Citizenship make available, in printed form, detailed organizational plans, as well as study materials for the use and development of this program.

Committee on State and Community Levels

A. B. KAPPLIN, Washington, D. C., *Chairman*
E. W. IRELAND, Somerville, Mass.
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, Boston, Mass.
MRS. ELLEN MATTINSON, Utica, N. Y.
MRS. BLANCHE DANIELS, Boston, Mass.
EUNICE KENNEDY, Washington, D. C.
MRS. ROBERT S. HURLBUT, Boston, Mass.
K. H. ARAXIE, Boston, Mass.

III. Needed Source Material

It is the opinion of this committee that an adequate Manual of Citizenship should be prepared for community leaders, intellectually challenging but not academic or too technical, strictly educational, objective, and well documented.

Your committee suggests that the manual should include the following:

A. A simple but accurate definition of the American way of life, as an adventure in democracy, buttressed by necessary historical references, and a clear exposition of the Bill of Rights.

B. A calm, objective presentation of ideologies and political programs which challenge the American way of life. These definitions should be brief, simple, and clear. They must be educational. Citizens need to know what certain words mean: communism, fascism, socialism, capitalism—and they need to learn in what way any ideology imperils the American concept of democracy.

C. A chapter should be devoted to propaganda analysis—so that citizens may learn how to distinguish between different types of propaganda and to guard against what might be dangerous to our institutions.

D. A section on the rights of minorities in a democracy would be illuminating, with some practical suggestions as to how these minority groups might be represented on the community level.

E. There should be an informed discussion of the function of government. This might include the techniques of citizen participation, with a dispassionate treatment of the part played by pressure groups and organized lobbyists.

F. To help the citizen to appreciate the wide range of responsibilities and opportunities, it is suggested that one section in the manual include a brief reference to community problems such as: housing, child health and child welfare, mental health and guidance, vocational counseling and training, recreation, etc. There should be information as to where literature could be secured, and which organizations would furnish counsel.

G. It would be helpful to include recommendations for the closer cooperation of various community groups in order to strengthen citizenship. There is needed a technique for getting these agencies *together* in the interest of a total program—in the community, and in the areas of state, national, and international affairs.

H. Pending the publication of the manual, the committee suggests the

preparation and distribution of a bibliography of resource material and helps which would be useful to community leaders.

Committee on Needed Source Materials

M. H. LICHLITER, Scottish Rite, Supreme Council 33°, *Chairman*
ABBIE CONDIT, National Recreation Association
ARTHUR L. HINMAN, Lions International
ORVILLE W. GRAYS, U. S. Children's Bureau

The true citizen will endeavor to understand the different racial viewpoints of the various elements which enter into our population. He will seek to divest himself of antipathy or prejudice toward any of those who have come to us from foreign lands, and he will try, by happy illustration in his own conduct, to hasten appreciation of the American ideal. For him "American" will ever be a word of the spirit and not of the flesh. Difference in custom or religion will not be permitted to obscure the common human worth, nor will bigotry of creed or relation prevent a just appraisement. The pitiful revelations of ignorance and squalor, of waste and folly, will not sap his faith. He will patiently seek truly to know himself and others, and with fraternal insight to enter into the world's work, to share the joys of accomplishment, and to help in the bearing of the burdens of misery. He will be free from the prejudice of occupation or of residence. He will not look askance either at city or at country. For him any honest work will be honorable, and those who are toiling with their hands will not be merely economic factors of work, but human beings of like passions and possessed of the "certain unalienable rights." Neither birth nor station, neither circumstance nor vocation, will win or prevent the esteem to which fidelity, honesty, and sincerity are alone entitled. He will look neither up nor down, but with even eye will seek to read the hearts of men.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Chairman

SAMUEL EVERETT

Director, American Junior Red Cross

Recorder

MRS. FRANCIS J. SILL

Member of National Board of Directors of Girl Scouts

NINE youth delegates participated in this conference work group. They were: Alan David Nacht, Junior Red Cross; Joan Hurley, Charlestown High School; Yvonne Theriault, Charlestown High School; Joanne Goodnow, Camp Fire Girls; Alfred L. Cotcher, Encampment for Citizenship; Eleanor R. Paradise, Boston Council of Girl Scouts; Ruth A. Wynot, Boston Council of Girl Scouts; Roberta Sherman, Boston Council of Girl Scouts; Joan Rolfe, Camp Fire Girls.

In addition to the youth delegates, there were delegates from the following organizations: American Junior Red Cross; Charlestown High School; American Association of University Women; American Jewish Committee; Future Farmers of America; United Council of Church Women; Camp Fire Girls; Encampment for Citizenship; 4-H Club; Big Brothers of America, Inc.; American Library Association; American Association of Social Workers; Girl Scouts; YMCA; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Boy Scouts; Jewish Welfare Board; Grand Council of the Order of De Molay.

I. Introductions to work group participants

Each member of this work group introduced himself and gave a short statement about the organization he represented, including pertinent information about his organization's citizenship training program. These introductions helped to accomplish one purpose of the discussion group —they provided opportunity for delegates to compare and evaluate practices, and clarify their own thinking.

II. Over-all emphasis of the discussion

In all of the discussion, action was stressed rather than merely studying and talking about subjects of interest.

III. Summary of the discussion

The following eight points were accepted as guide posts or definitions of good citizenship: (a) knowledge and understanding of rights and privileges, duties and obligations of citizenship in a representative democracy; (b) acceptance and loyalty to democracy; (c) assumption of some personal responsibility for its functions; (d) concern for the opinions and personalities of others, irrespective of race, nationality, color, creed, social or economic status; (e) willingness and ability to work and cooperate with others irrespective of race, etc.; (f) knowledge and respect of conditions and welfare of the people of the nations of the world; (g) willingness and ability to help solve and correct social problems; (h) *personal* record of participation in social and civic action.

The major amount of the discussion centered around the following areas:

A. Youth participation in planning and policy formation within organizations is an essential process to strengthening citizenship in democracy.

Here clear distinction was made between actual youth participation in program planning and policy making and merely having youth carry out a program planned by adults. Encouraging evidence was reported that many organizations are making it possible for young people to participate in their national conventions and at state and local levels. It was a conclusion of the group that youth participation can be most effective when youth and adults work together.

B. Young people must gain a realistic picture of how politics and government operate.

It was a conclusion of the group that this is a joint responsibility of the schools and the youth agencies, with the schools providing realistic education in government and the youth groups providing outside activities to supplement the schools. Projects to help achieve this were suggested, such as visits of youth representatives to national, state, and local legislative bodies. Careful preparation must be done in advance so that the youth groups are prepared to understand the processes and proceedings such as committee work, party caucuses, political bosses, lobbyists.

C. Community conditions affecting youth are so complicated that it is essential for youth groups to seek ways of cooperation with each other, in order to enable young people to participate in the life of the whole community.

The youth council plan being sponsored by the organizations composing the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly

was thoroughly discussed with agreement that the organization of youth councils should be actively promoted.

IV. Resolutions

The youth organizations here represented, concerned with the problems of strengthening their contributions to better American citizenship, after careful and thorough discussion, have agreed on the following recommendations:

A. That the National Citizenship Committee commend the project now being developed by the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly to promote the establishment of communitywide inter-agency youth councils covering affiliated and unaffiliated groups of all levels.

B. The following additional techniques of furthering better citizenship are also recommended:

1. That citizenship institutes and workshops for young people from all sections of the United States be encouraged.

2. That educational agencies and youth groups encourage youth visits to the local, state, and national legislative bodies; and that these youth groups be realistically prepared under competent leadership to understand the processes and proceedings of these legislative bodies.

3. That state departments of education be urged to call in youth-serving agencies and youth organizations when planning citizenship conferences.

4. That youth be encouraged to study at least one vital issue a year and, after coming to a decision, be prepared to present it to their responsible government officials.

Demagoguery will always have a certain influence, and the remedy is to be found not in repression or impatient denunciation, but in the multiplication of men of intelligence who love justice and cannot be stampeded.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Chairman

B. C. HARRINGTON
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Recorder

CLINTON THURLOW
Maine Teachers' Association

I. The occupational organizations are, it seems, especially qualified to develop citizenship training among their own groups, because

A. The techniques and methods have not been too formalized and institutionalized and, consequently, permit of try-out and experimentation, and

B. These organizations can base their training upon primary interests of their groups: namely, upon the relationship of their economic life to citizenship.

II. This group accepts in principle, and reaffirms the statements and recommendations proposed by the work group of occupational organizations at the First National Citizenship Conference, May 1946.[1]

III. This group urges that another national conference on citizenship be held next year and that such a conference become an annual event.

IV. The group suggests the following as a criterion to be considered along with other criteria for programs of civic training:

Citizenship is not something apart from our economic and social institutions and experiences. Training in citizenship must deal with the problems of adjusting individual and group activities to a changing technical order. This would include assistance in understanding the present order with its maladjustments and inter-group conflicts, and it would involve guidance in the adjustment to future developments.

V. Problems discussed and recommendations made

A. Citizenship training in the schools

In far too many instances adequate emphasis in the schools has not been given to the contributions of trade unionism to the development of

[1] Report of *First National Conference on Citizenship*. NEA, 1946. p. 86-89.

democracy, or to the nature of labor-management relations in the present day. Attention was drawn to the great lack of appropriate textbooks and to the inadequate understanding and experience in this field on the part of many teachers and school authorities. A tendency is observed to rely on a verbal presentation in much citizenship training. Since members of occupational groups are close to reality, such groups are in a position to aid the schools to make their training more functional.

Recommendation

It is recommended to the Citizenship Committee that the National Education Association be requested to strengthen its efforts to get school managements to include in the curriculum labor-management relations and the contributions to democracy made by trade unionism and other organized occupational groups and movements.

It is further recommended that consideration be given to the preparation of new materials and the provision of services to assist teachers to accomplish these ends.

Note: Two recent books published for the use of high school classes are:

1. *The American Story of Industrial Labor Relations,* New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, Williams Press, Albany, 1944.

2. *Labor in America,* American Way Series, Mark Starr and Harold Faulkner, 1944, Harper Brothers, New York.

B. Interchange between occupational organizations

In the inter-dependent society of today each occupational group needs greatly to know and understand the problems and viewpoints of other groups. It is especially important to develop in young workers objective and sympathetic attitudes toward members of other groups.

A program of civic training conducted by an occupational organization should be kept functionally current with changing social, economic, and political conditions affecting not only this organization but other occupational groups.

Recommendation

It is recommended that this work group of the conference be the nucleus of a continuing organization of the occupational work group concerned with citizenship, to function under the auspices of the Citizenship Committee of the NEA during the interim between annual conferences. Its purpose should be to exchange information on civic training programs or proposals and current conditions within the occupations represented. The present leadership of the work group is requested to

implement this plan of interim operation. The group desires to re-emphasize the clearinghouse on information, recommended in the report of the occupational work group at the 1946 conference, as a highly important objective.

C. Other problems discussed by the group

1. The importance of getting workers in industry to recognize their special civic rights and responsibilities, and to understand more fully the complex inter-relationships in modern society.

2. Civic implications of the trend from the family farm to the large mechanized farm.

3. Development of local discussion groups with a membership representing a cross section of the population.

4. Economic and social importance of the development of an appreciation on the part of youth and their parents of the dignity of the more manual occupations.

5. Desirability of a working manual of suggestions to help occupational groups to carry out and extend their program of civic training.

No one can properly discharge his duties as a citizen who simply has a good-natured feeling toward all, and merely wishes in a general way that every man shall prosper. This desire must be sharpened by a consideration of particular evils, and one must understand the necessity of co-operative vigilance. He must learn to make his personal decisions, as well as to define his public attitude, in the light of the interests of the community and not simply with respect to the opportunities for his individual gain.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF PATRIOTIC, VETERANS, AND SPECIAL CITIZENSHIP ORGANIZATIONS TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Chairman
JERRY VOORHIS
Executive Secretary, Cooperative League

Recorder
NOAH C. TURPEN
Chief, Educational Services Section
Immigration and Naturalization Service

REPRESENTATIVES of the following organizations participated in discussions of this group: American Veterans Committee; Adult Civic Education Division, Chelsea, Massachusetts, Public Schools; Adult Civic Education Division, Peabody, Massachusetts, Public Schools; Adult Civic Education Division, Revere, Massachusetts, Public Schools; Cooperative League; Daughters of the American Revolution; Encampment for Citizenship, Fieldston, New York; Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice; National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship; National Society of the Colonial Dames of America; Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Throughout the entire series of discussions the group kept in mind the increasing demands of this complex age upon the individual citizen, and the necessity for providing every resident of the United States, both native-born and foreign-born, a higher functional preparation for the assumption of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship than has ever before been provided.

Early in its deliberations the group decided to spend its major effort in, (a) developing some criteria that might be used in evaluating a citizenship program, (b) listing some of the common obstacles or barriers to the development of a good program, and (c) listing some effective devices for use in a good program. Later it was decided to add a section consisting of some general suggestions. The group did not feel that it was necessary or advisable to confine itself strictly to programs of organizations such as those represented in the group. Consequently, many of the items that follow have a general application. This statement makes no pretense as to completeness of

any category treated, but merely represents the group's best effort during the time available for its deliberations.

A Some Evaluative Criteria

A citizenship program is of value to the extent that it develops in the individual a sense of responsibility for what happens in his community, his state, his country, and the world for contributing to the solution for the common good of problems arising on each of these levels and to the extent that it provides the individual with the opportunity and the necessary preparation to participate at an increasingly higher level.
Citizenship programs and activities within programs should:

1. Aim to remove barriers to full participation of all individuals everywhere and help the inarticulate to become articulate
2. Be organized around objectives and problems whose cohesive influences are stronger than the divisive influences existing among individuals in the group
3. Contribute to the development of the open mind, or the scientific attitude (Further indoctrination in prejudices already held merely perpetuates group isolationism.)
4. Promote action only after all the facts are in and properly evaluated
5. Possess variety, and capitalize on interest and "fun" factors
6. Not consist of talk only but recognize that individuals "learn to do by doing"
7. Give participants as much real responsibility in the planning and in each successive step of the program—in matters they feel are of significance to them—as the age and maturity of the participants permit
8. Recognize the sacredness of the personalities of all human beings
9. Contribute to the all-round development of and welfare of the participants—intellectual, physical, social and economic
10. Be suitable to the age and experiential background of the participants
11. Not only have immediate value, but have significance reaching beyond the present time and group
12. Utilize the resources of existing community organizations and institutions insofar as they can be brought to contribute to the development of good citizenship
13. Develop faith in our fellows and the basic ideals and institutions of democracy
14. Contribute to an understanding of the problems and attitudes of others, and develop appreciation of the contributions of others
15. Where possible cut across special interest groups and various age levels

16. Contribute to the development of good leadership and good followership—followership based on intelligent cooperation rather than blind faith

17. Recognize that leadership has a responsibility not only for assisting a group to achieve its present objectives, but also a responsibility to lead the group to the adoption of ever higher objectives and an ever higher standard of citizenship performance

18. Take into account the tremendous importance of American public opinion both at home and abroad, and bring about a realization that every participant is an agent or an instrument for the creation of public opinion.

B. Obstacles or Barriers

1. Self-perpetuating managerial groups

2. Partisan political interference

3. Arbitrary action on the part of administrative authorities, public and private

4. Antiquated legislation, the reasons for which have long since disappeared

5. Archaic methods of nominating and electing some public officials

6. All restrictions on the ballot (This implies the necessity for effective education of all voters.)

7. Closed sessions of city councils, schoolboards, and other governing bodies

8. Partisan election of schoolboards

9. Ignorant and biased parents

10. Illiteracy at home and abroad

11. Inadequate school teachers—poorly trained, poorly paid, and poorly organized

12. The continued unwarranted emphasis upon "training the mind" at the expense of the development of socio-civic understanding and responsibility

13. Feeling on the part of teachers and other community leaders that they should "stay out of politics," thus leaving political leadership to individuals often less competent and more selfish

14. Absentee ownership of economic facilities

15. The increasing limitation of the opportunity for individual ownership and responsibility, as exemplified by certain monopolies

16. Special interest control of press and radio

17. Special interest control of political processes resulting in individual feeling of futility

18. Taxpayers associations whose only objective is to reduce public expenditures

19. Organizations that pursue selfish ends at the expense of or neglect of the general welfare

20. Hidden objectives of organizations

21. Prejudice—racial, religious, and economic

22. Insecurity and fear

23. Organizations built upon hate and intolerance

24. Insistence of individuals and groups on getting exclusive credit for activities and programs

25. The barrier in the minds of men created by the magnitude of present problems, for example, the control of atomic weapons

26. Unwillingness or inability of elders to share real responsibility and decision making with youth and to associate themselves properly with youth in solving common problems

27. Group isolationism

28. Inability to associate ourselves with causes that do not directly and immediately concern us

29. Failure to realize that in the long run the only effective antidote for all forms of totalitarianism is to make democracy work so well that the fundamental needs of people are satisfied

C. Some Devices

1. Open public discussions presenting all viewpoints on important problems and issues with provision for action when the situation demands or justifies

2. Films and other visual aids, particularly the film forum

3. Community councils for communitywide planning and coordination of the activities of the various community groups

4. The employment of professionally trained public relations and group relations experts to iron out tensions among groups

5. Civic associations, particularly those organized around common problems

6. Youth councils

7. Exchange teachers and students between different sections of this country and between this and other countries, particularly where wide misunderstandings exist

8. "Springfield Plans" adapted and applied to the needs in other communities

9. The invitation of all candidates for major public offices to appear together before school assemblies and youth groups to discuss public issues

10. Political clubs that encourage universal participation and honest and thorough analysis of problems and issues

11. Visits to city council, state legislative, and Congressional sessions

12. Broadcasting and televising sessions of those legislative bodies

D. Recommendations

1. To the Congress of the United States:
That federal financial aid, without federal control, be extended to the states for the equalization of educational opportunity among all our people.

2. To schools:
That the content of the school curriculum be heavily weighted with live materials presenting all sides of current problems, issues, and developments; that students be indoctrinated as to the necessity in our democracy for every individual to perform intelligently the duties of citizenship; and that students be impressed with the importance of American public opinion in the solution of local, national, and world problems, and their obligation to assist in the creation of enlightened public opinion.

3. To the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association:
(a) That the annual Citizenship Conference be continued; that a continuing coordinating committee be formed to serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of ideas and practices in citizenship development, to develop a citizenship manual, and to encourage the holding of regional, state, and local conferences or workshops; and that, until some better means of financing the program is found, such of the organizations making up the conference as are able be asked to contribute funds for the support of the program.
(b) Our group commends the many patriotic, civic, and educational organizations that have contributed to the continued improvement of programs in observation of Citizenship Day or I Am an American Day, and we recommend that the NEA Citizenship Committee take the leadership in setting up a continuing representative committee to assume the responsibility for fostering future observances of Citizenship Day.

The desire to know the truth and to deal fairly with men and measures is of the essence of good citizenship. The most dangerous foes of democratic government are those who seek through special privilege to pervert it to selfish uses, and those who, by reckless, untruthful, and inflammatory utterances, corrupt the public sentiment.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Conference Work Group

STRENGTHENING THE CONTRIBUTION OF PRESS, RADIO, AND MOTION PICTURES TO BETTER AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Chairman

LAURENTINE B. COLLINS
Director of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools

Recorder

LYLE W. ASHBY
Associate Director, Division of Publications, National Education Association

Problems of the area

I. The need for more widespread and effective use of good materials already available in and through the mass media

A. Equipment is not available in many places.

B. Potential users lack the motivation and the know-how.

C. School administration in many places fails to stress and plan for the integration of mass media products into instruction.

II. The need for more direct and easily available channels by which consumers may know how, where, and when to find effective materials

A. The rank and file of teachers and community leaders do not know about the materials available from mass media producers.

B. There is a gap between the experts in the field and the actual users of the mass media products which needs to be bridged.

III. The problem of making, distributing, and using materials in terms of the experience levels of the many publics

A. Producers have the know-how for audience getting; they often have too little concern for consequences.

B. Schools, community leaders, and agencies working on citizenship (in its broadest definition) do not know how to screen their audiences for readiness for various levels of production.

IV. The need for more cooperation between the users and the producers of mass media in the development and use of better products

A. Producers have organized to make mass media products but are not well organized to evaluate mass media products.

B. Users have not been able to demonstrate to producers that they can give enough support to good productions.

V. How to make citizenship activities so full of audience appeal that mass media will make use of them

A. Citizenship activities have good publicity values which users of mass media should learn to recognize and call to the attention of mass media producers.

B. The participation of mass media leaders in citizenship projects should be sought.

VI. How to develop intelligent discrimination on the part of the public

A. There are a large number of people who with encouragement would seek and demand a higher level of mass media product.

B. There is a need for development of criteria for evaluating mass media products.

C. Opportunity for the use of the criteria must be plentiful.

VII. How to secure free exchange of ideas

Recognizing that citizenship requires a free exchange of ideas, everything possible should be done to impress this fact upon the existing media and to encourage the establishment of independent voices wherever concentrated control exists.

General Recommendations

I. The schools should build their programs to include the effective use of current mass media, as should other agencies of education.

II. Educators (broadly defined) and mass media leaders should get together more often to think, plan, and act cooperatively especially at the local level.

III. There should be more recognition and effective use of the worthy products of the mass media.

IV. Criteria for evaluating mass media products should be developed.

Preliminary thinking about such criteria indicates such items as

A. Responsibility

What are its purpose and tone? Is it moral? Is it sensational? Is it commercial? Does it serve the objectives of citizenship? What is its stand on issues? Does it take a position? Is this made clear? Is it accurate? Are sources clearly indicated? Is it fair to varying viewpoints? Is there any hidden propaganda? Does it give evidence of historical perspective? Does it show a grasp of fundamentals?

B. Activity

How much attention do the mass media give to citizenship problems? How much initiative does the particular medium show? Does it give breadth of coverage?

C. Effectiveness

Does it entertain? Does it inform? Does it arouse appreciation? Does it inspire?

V. The schools should lead in the dissemination and development of critical standards of judgments of mass media products.

Specific Recommendations

1. We recommend the establishment of a National Commission for Citizenship, financed from foundation and private sources without any control, to aid in underwriting specific approved local projects of citizenship development and the dissemination of information about them.

2. We recommend the inclusion within the Pulitzer, Nobel, Dupont and other awards of classifications recognizing outstanding service to the development of good citizenship.

In Conclusion:

We ask the press, the radio, and the motion picture industries to perceive, to clarify, and to present in living terms the news and drama of today's evolving democratic citizenship. We pledge our support and cooperation for we believe that the development of an active, enlightened citizenship is the most important task in which any of us can be engaged.

There are those who take a poor view of our prospects because of the recklessness of the sensational press. It is difficult for them to conceive that the community can steady itself against these constant and insidious assaults upon its judgment and sense of proportion. . . . If it be asked how an individual can accomplish aught in this direction, it may be answered that it lies with the individual to accomplish everything. The man who demands the facts, who is willing to stand or fall by the facts, who forms his convictions deliberately and adheres to them tenaciously, who courts patient inquiry and "plays fair," is a tower of strength in any group to which he may be related.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

"IS THERE ANYTHING I HAVE FORGOTTEN?"

Closing Floor Discussion

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: Is there anything I have forgotten to bring up?

FLOOR: Can you set a budget committee so that the conference can continue to operate?

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: We do have that in mind. We had a slight delay this year because of the uncertainty of the budget. We are going to work on that right away so that we can be assured of carrying on the conference next year.

FLOOR: In planning next year's conference, is it possible to get a fuller participation of youth, and, if possible, to have a group of youth that can have a preliminary conference with recommendations to submit to us so that when they participate in the groups they will feel adequately prepared? That was something I felt was sadly lacking in the participation. The young people were handicapped, although we urged them to participate fully.

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: I agree.

FLOOR: Let's see the hands of those who still call themselves youth. (A showing of hands was made.)

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: Your points are two—first, the wider representation of youth and, second, that we give youth a chance to do some thinking before the conference actually opens.

FLOOR: Whenever young people are called in to participate in an adult group, they are at a disadvantage. They have problems that they can well submit to us if they were told in advance, or if we the adults make plans adequately for proper preparation. Most of the young people who come do so because some adult is interested in them. I think the committee should think of ways and means of bringing representative youth to participate in a conference before we have the joint sessions, and then provide for the joint sessions.

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: That is a very fine suggestion.

FLOOR: If the suggestion of the committee on organizations is adopted to have state conferences, that will, in effect, take care of that.

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: That will help.

FLOOR: Is it too late to refer to a statement of Group C, which I think was a little prejudiced? It labeled socialism, communism, and so forth as enemies of the United States. At least, it gave that implication. It seems to me that that is the very sort of thing we are trying to condemn here in the conference.

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: Suppose we raise that question with Group C.

FLOOR: The chairman is out of the room at present. I want to say that that was decidedly not the intention, and I think that careful reading of that sentence would dispel that implication. . . .

FLOOR: As a member of another group, I would like to register protest that it was recommended that federal aid be given only to public schools.

CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: It was our intention that the recommendations for each group would stand as recommendations only from that group. . . .

FLOOR: There might be a place for this type of evaluation in the next conference. This might be done by a larger group of sub-committee reports.

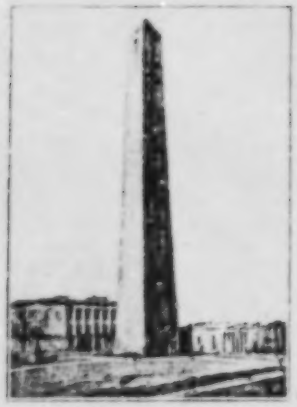
CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: That might well be.

In closing, I will say that it is our job to find the time, finances, energy, and people to do all these things. We are all part-time workers, doing the best we can. If you have any ideas, let us have them.

But no organized agency and no combination, however strong, can outrage the rights of any community, if the community sees fit to assert them. The character of the agencies of the community, its instruments of expression, the forms of its organized effort are simply what it may desire or tolerate. Whatever evil may exist in society or politics, simply points the question to the individual citizen, "What are you doing about it?"

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

BUNKER HILL



Commissioned troops in ships at sea;
A quick-called group of volunteers;
A boom of guns o'er Boston's harbour town;
The snap of muskets lately trained on squirrel, turkey, deer.
"What's done is done; we've got to fight!"
"We've not a ghost — they swarm like lice!"

What's all this talk? Who these Yankee lads
Who held this rise of ground,
Who fought amid the jeers, the unbelief?
Fought why?
Why would they pit their small, weak numbers 'gainst such strength?
Why were they so impelled,
When every sign foretold not victory but doom?
Heart's blood could spill;
And still no new-born colonists might grow up free.

This Hill is not a battle shrine; it's not a cry, "To arms."
It is a candle cupped against the wind.
It is a tiny group, unbowed, against disparity.
"Cringe not, neither be afraid. For what is length of life that one must be afraid?"
Not always does the victory to the mighty go.
A little band, fired with the torch of human rights, can light the age.
A little band *can* win against the odds.

LUCILE ELLISON

PANEL DISCUSSION

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

Informal Remarks of the Conference Chairman

EARLE T. HAWKINS

UNDOUBTEDLY some of you are going to ask the question which is perfectly fair to ask—"So what? What's going to happen? Is this just another conference?" We don't have all the answers yet. The best we can do will be included in some of the reports. We have some very definite plans in mind, and I hope they will be on paper and in action, to do something in the way of continuity. Perhaps we shall have another conference and anything in the way of a suggestion along that line will be welcomed.

We also have definite suggestions in mind for having this same type of thing done on a state, regional, or local level, and I hope some of you will go ahead with that idea. We will also go ahead as quickly as we can toward some kind of printed manual which will be down to earth and practical. Most of these things will have to come largely from you, for only in that manner can we determine how much grist we have for this probable mill of turning out a manual.

We have formed the policy, more or less, in these conferences (and I hope you approve) of not sending in general resolutions from the floor as total conference actions, because we feel that you people represent different organizations but don't necessarily want to put your organizations on record. We feel, therefore, that the recommendations should come out of the groups. It is perfectly appropriate to recommend anything you want to in that group report. If it is something we can forward on to somebody else, we'll do that, or something you want to forward, why go ahead and do it.

We will put out a booklet of the group suggestions as soon as we can, but we will send out a preliminary mimeographed copy of the group suggestions because we feel that you would like to have that right away. . . .

We are embarrassed, and perhaps you ought to be embarrassed, to learn that the Home Groups did not materialize this time. Not enough people elected a Home Group, so the members of that particular group joined other groups. We need to study why that happened. . . .

I think you people are to be congratulated on how adult you have been during the conference. I use for my criteria your striking sense of good

friendship and good humor. . . . The definition of an adult person includes an ability to share opinions, and you have fulfilled that particular criterion. . . .

You might be interested in a brief résumé on my part as to how this whole idea of conferences came about. . . .

The National Education Association . . . approximately ten years ago appointed a committee on new voters' preparation and recognition. This particularly, at first, dealt with naturalized citizens being indoctrinated in American citizenship and was connected with I Am an American Day or Citizenship Day. The committee then changed to recognize the induction of persons who are growing up into citizenship. Then, about four years ago, the committee began to include citizenship of "one world." I happen to be only the second chairman, so our history is not very old. Those of us working on the committee began to raise the question of what our place was—we didn't want to overlap the field of any others. . . .

Someone got the bright idea of writing to all the national organizations that had the word "citizenship" in their titles or among their committees. We would see what they had to offer, get a total of material and factual information, and weed it out.

We sent out the letters, but there wasn't much material. Out of all this evolved the First National Conference on Citizenship, which raised these questions: What is good citizenship? How do we get it? What part can my organization play?

We are not specialists in citizenship, but we have a job to do and we are trying to do it to the best of our ability. . . .

We sent out, after last year's session, a set of questionnaires asking such questions as: How can we improve the conference? Would you like to have another? Would you be interested in coming again? Two amazing things happened. In the first place, we got most of the questionnaires back. . . . Over 90 percent of them wanted another conference.

We are going to send out another questionnaire after this conference, and we are going to make it as informal as possible. While things are still fresh in your minds, we would like to hear any suggestions you may have to make. . . .

WHAT ARE THE BASIC STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF MODERN-DAY AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND WHAT, IN THIS CONNECTION, SHOULD BE THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOLS?

Excerpts From Panel Discussion

CHARLES PELTIER, Civic Education, Boston University, School of Education —Discussion Leader

CLARENCE Q. BERGER, Executive Director, New England Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League

FRANCIS J. DALY, Supervisor, Division of Juvenile Adjustment, Boston Public Schools

M. BERNARD FOX, Director, United Nations Association in New England

ROGER HOLMES, Director of Training, State Teachers College, Fitchburg, Massachusetts

HORACE KIDGER, Head, Social Studies Department, Newton High School

MR. PELTIER: . . . In the first place, it is my impression that civic education has been rather generally neglected. It is the forgotten son, the stepchild, perhaps. Consider this quotation. It is the number one resolution from the Department of Superintendence in 1929. Just get the sound of this: "Again we remind ourselves that our state systems of education were established in accord with the proposals of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and a long line of farseeing statesmen for the purpose of preserving and improving our political institutions. Again we recall that our wages are paid and our equipment provided by a tax on all the people whether or not they be parents. Thus reminded, we pledge ourselves anew to the direct teaching of the duties of citizenship in all the school grades. Not culture, not scholarship, nor self-support, nor compliance with the entrance requirements of more advanced schools shall turn us from the duty of teaching our youth the needs of our civic life and from inspiring our citizens with a determination to improve it."[1]

1929. Good! Excellent! But one sometimes wonders what has been going on since then! *Have* we been concentrating primarily on teaching our youth the needs of our civic life, inspiring our citizens with the determination to improve it, and putting only into second and third and fourth and fifth

[1] *NEA Addresses and Proceedings*, 1929, p. 794.
Department of Superintendence Official Report, 1929, p. 270.

positions such things as college entrance, vocational education, and so on?

I think it is all to the good that this year, on or about the first of January, the National Education Association issued a bulletin, a 16-page report entitled, "Our Children—Annual Report of the Profession to the Public." In that bulletin, the NEA has listed some seven major needs to be met in education. Number seven of that list calls for greater emphasis on education for citizenship. Again, the worthy statement, the worthy purpose; but I think there is more hope here now. In the first place, we have this conference. Not only that, but this isn't the first conference. It is the second conference, so we are starting in to *work* on this business of civic education, education for American citizenship, education for better living together in the democratic way.

I was somewhat disappointed that the National Council for Social Studies, in its November convention, didn't pass a resolution also calling for civic education. Granted, there were resolutions recognizing the need for inter-cultural education and I am not against that. . . . Resolutions also included inter-cultural education and the United Nations. I am not opposed to instruction concerning the United Nations. . . . Neither am I opposed to teaching Unesco, nor to teaching of critical thinking. I don't object to any of them, but I feel that those are just items. They should all be part and parcel of an over-all program of civic education, as the superintendents said in 1929, "in all school grades."

Also, the National Council people say, very worthily, that they feel that the social studies have a peculiar contribution to make to civic education, but they believe this is not the job of just the social studies. I am for that, because civic education, education for life in American democracy, is not just the job of any one school department, division, grade, or school.

And there is one more thing civic education isn't. Here is a list of sixty best educational books of 1945. This is taken from the *NEA Journal* of May 1946. As you know, it is the standard practice of the NEA to pick the best education books every year. . . . We find listed here the number one required reading book on civic education, a book entitled, "For Us the Living," by John J. Mahoney, Boston University. If you get out of here without knowing that book, you are not qualified to discuss civic education, and you are not adequately informed. The NEA picked that book as one of the sixty best of the year, and please note that it is catalogued under "Special Subjects," along with "Conditioning Exercises for Girls and Women," "A Manual for Remedial Reading," "Dictionary of Education. . . ."

This I want to leave with you before we start. It's *not a special subject*. Civic education is the responsibility of the school system, grades one through

twelve, or through fourteen, whatever our system. Social studies can make a particular contribution, but they can't do it alone. The athletic program, the English program, teachers in the grades dealing with youngsters at their particular levels—civic education includes them all. It includes teaching materials that you use and teaching methods. Furthermore, it includes (and I am firmly convinced by now that it does) your students' activities programs, programs by which the youngsters participate in the government of the school. Also, it includes administrative and supervisory procedures all down the line. Purposive education for democracy!

Mr. Berger, do you want to go on from there?

MR. BERGER: I would like to devote my remarks to the discussion of the specific field of operations in which I am engaged, that of the whole question of inter-group conflict, inter-group tension.

I think there is no question in the minds of any of us but that this must be classified as one of the weakest links of modern-day citizenship education. If I may, however, I'd like to dwell on one phase of the over-all question, and that is this:

Too frequently, it seems to me, as we go into the problem of prejudice, we wind our way through a maze of generalizations, beautiful phrases, nice terms, and emerge without anything of substance. Ordinarily, we argue for the schools to devote more intensive attention to the whole question of racial and religious tensions. Ordinarily, the arguments advanced for justifying that request for attention are in terms of the moral implications, in terms of the justice involved for minority peoples, but we forget too frequently what happens to the people who have the prejudices. What happens, not to the victims of the discrimination or prejudice, but what happens to the mentalities of the people who are giving expression to these prejudices?

Scientists have told us a good deal in recent years about what happens in the minds of individuals who nurse prejudices. Generally, we can divide their findings into three categories: What it does to the process of our mental development, our ability to think in terms of logic; what it does to us as entities within a social order, as individuals who are part and parcel of a social structure in terms of our social relationships; and what it does to us as personalities. The scientists emerged with a massive set of facts. They point out to us that prejudices are based upon the use of the stereotype, upon the use of the projection technique in our thinking, or upon the rationalizations emerging from frustrations, all of which are illogical types of thinking.

Gordon Allport, of Harvard, points out how this illogical mode of

thinking, once we become victims of it, once we begin to use the emotional approach to various questions, spreads to our behavior in other areas of activity, and so we find that those who are prejudiced, those who are motivated by prejudices, fall into the habit of thinking in terms of emotions rather than logic in other fields of behavior as well.

Second, it's obvious and apparent, I believe, that a person who does harbor prejudices cuts himself off from a wide area of experiences in our society. He automatically divorces himself from any contact with Negroes, from any contact with red-headed people, from contact with tall people, from contact with any of those groups toward whom he has a prejudice. Thus, he limits the total degree of social experience which he has, and does not permit himself to develop as a fully adjusted, fully oriented social being. He does not emerge as a person who is in perfect harmony with the society in which he exists.

The third point, with reference to personality traits which scientists have brought to our attention, shows that prejudiced people, on the whole, are individuals who go along with the idea of authoritarian social structure. By and large, they are aggressive; by and large (and, since these are scientific studies, we are speaking of averages), they subscribe to the idea that men are basically evil and dangerous. In other words, a much larger proportion of prejudiced individuals subscribed to that tenet than was true of the non-prejudiced group. We find that these people who harbor prejudices are, on the average, extremely suspicious. Finally, they do not show any of the traits of charity, kindliness, fellowship, which we associate with behavior in a democratic form of government.

It all adds up to what? It all adds up to the fact that prejudices produce individuals who think illogically; who are half-baked social entities; who, lastly, possess personality characteristics which are opposed to, contrary to, our democratic way of life. . . .

The point I want to stress here is this—education, by and large (with the exception of men like Dr. Mahoney and others who have taken the leadership in this field), has followed one of three schools of thought with reference to the treatment of the question of racial and religious tensions.

One school of thought we might call the "Hush-Hush" school. They say, "Let's not talk about it. We've never had any incidents in our area—let's not introduce trouble."

There is a second school which we might call the "Rush-Rush" school. The minute anything happens, call an assembly and say, "Now, children," and then go into a long lecture, a long harangue, after which the whole matter is forgotten.

Finally, there is the third school, which is perhaps the most prevalent of all—the "Oh-My" school of thought. When they hear anything pertaining to racial, religious, or nationality tensions, they say, "Oh, my! What can we do about it?" They feel that somehow this whole question of prejudice is an omniscient force, a force with which man can't cope. They forget a very basic factor, namely, that no child is born with any prejudice, that all prejudices are transmitted by the process of social transmission.

My plea, if any, that I'd like to make is that we must recognize not only that fact that prejudices are harmful to the group or individual against whom or toward whom those prejudices are expressed, but that actually individuals who have prejudices or who are prejudiced are not developing logical modes of thinking, are not properly integrated into their society, and are developing personality characteristics contrary to our democratic way of life. I submit to you that we cannot have true American citizenship in our nation, we cannot truly have a nation of individuals who can make contributions, constructive contributions, to the utmost of their potential, to democracy, if, in terms of their social behavior, in terms of their mental development, and in terms of their personality characteristics, they are not drawn into a pattern of philosophy of democracy.

MR. PELTIER: . . . We had a little meeting before this started and decided that we'd go in alphabetical order, so now we turn to Mr. Daly.

MR. DALY: In this hall of colonial setting, I think of a colonial law, Supplement 1672, which reads that "If there be a child of sufficient years of wisdom or age which shall fail to obey the just and lawful commands of parents and guardians, such a child may be put to death." That was the law in Massachusetts in 1672. I recollect also another law, enacted in 1927, in Nebraska. I can't hope to repeat all the provisions of that, but essentially it commanded the state department of education, and the state supervisor of instruction of that state, within two weeks, to put into the schools of that state a course of study which would "cause the children to become courteous and respectful toward their parents and others, law-abiding, have respect for the dignity of labor, respect the flag of the United States, the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of the state of Nebraska," and so forth, and so forth.

Those two laws represent two ways of trying to make people better citizens, I suppose; one of disciplining them even to the point of death, into being better or ceasing to be as bad as they were, and the other attempting directly to teach them the ways of good citizenship.

I am not going to talk on either of those two approaches tonight. I mention them as approaches showing an apparent belief that better citizenship is something to be taught directly or deliberately molded from without. I want to mention briefly some of a number of factors which can adversely affect a child's potentialities for better citizenship.

There are some conditions in a child's life which have effectively been established as obstacles to his being a better citizen, no matter what you attempt to teach him by any direct or semi-direct method. A number of studies have shown rather conclusively that most people who do wrong do so not because of lack of knowledge of right from wrong, but because of other factors in their make-up or situation. By this, I certainly do not wish to imply any lack of value in knowledge of what is right and wrong, but only that knowledge itself does not guarantee proper conduct and citizenship.

I think that through our schools and through our society in general, we unnecessarily allow many children to grow up in various degrees of maladjustment, sometimes serious enough to be labelled delinquency. Many more may not be delinquent, but simply problems to themselves and to others. If we thus allow certain unnecessary impediments to stand in the way of their growth through the schools, then, on the basis of their maladjustments, because personality traits are largely emotionally rather than intellectually derived, we are to that degree more likely to have a troubled and troublesome citizenship from that group.

I will be able to do little more than mention some of the areas in which the schools must do more than they are doing, if that outcome is not to continue to develop in the schools of this country as it has up to this point. I have endeavored, for the past three or four years, to learn what the schools of the country are doing in these matters. I will simply mention a few of them.

Take the question of failure. What right have we to allow children to fail year after year; to be put into a situation of constant frustration and defeat? That frustration inevitably results in certain feelings of aggression; those defeats inevitably result in a certain emptiness in the personalities of those children. Such outcomes are not likely to make for pleasant interrelationship with others. Yet, we have city after city having up to 15 percent of the children failing in the first grade. They start life in society (as school represents society) with a defeat. I am happy to report that most schools of the country have reduced that very sharply.

Take the question of the dull normal or slow learning child. We have about 20 percent of our population in this range of intelligence. For them the schools generally have made no proper curriculum provisions. By this very fact they are condemned to a certain degree of maladjustment with consequent possibly harmful effect on their potentialities for most effective citizenship.

Take the teacher attitudes. Any large city has its teacher problems. I'm not talking about Boston—I'm talking about the country as a whole. If you have teachers who are themselves maladjusted, themselves discourteous, themselves insensitive to the rights of others, then you can certainly expect that the children will show similar traits as adult citizens in our society.

Take the question of health defects. We have school health programs that grew out of medical inspection, a cursory type of examination which misses out on many aspects of special health needs—visual defects, hearing defects, and the rest. So, we have children growing up with health defects unnecessarily, meeting failure unnecessarily, becoming problems to themselves and to others. There again before we start talking to these children about better citizenship, we must try to make them better adjusted themselves . . .

What I am trying to say is this—that our inner attitudes or overt behavior with others, as adult citizens in the community, is not a question simply of being taught the right things or being taught the right attitude. The way we act is determined by emotional drives as well as intellectual apperceptions. On that basis, if we do have many children growing with troubled personalities and children failing miserably to reach their fullest potentialities, and we have not, by any one of a variety of ways, prevented, decreased, or diminished those maladjustments, then we have failed to do something which I think affects in a very important degree their group attitudes and their citizenship behavior as adults in the community later on.

MR. PELTIER: . . . The next speaker will be Mr. M. Bernard Fox, Director of the United Nations Association in New England.

MR. FOX: I just want to give a few thoughts that occur to some of the veterans who have come back rather recently, as I have—rather staccato impressions without any attention to smooth transitions.

I would like to say, at the outset, something in regard to your remarks, Mr. Peltier. In my opinion, unless we do have regular attention to civic education in the schools, not just an optional or occasional course, we will have atomic and biological war. I think it's just as simple as that. We are not having sufficient attention paid to civic education from families. It should be done there, too, but it seems to me that the school age, and particularly the high-school age, is the most important one. I don't mean in just an idle way, either, because I have spent some time going around in Massachusetts and New England talking to all sorts of groups, some between 60 and 80 and others anywhere from 20 to 60. Almost all the time, it seems that the high-school students are the ones that come closest to really thinking about this philosophy of the necessity of civic education.

There are just five or six things that I would like to touch upon briefly and quickly.

I think I have learned quite definitely something that many of you learned long before I did, and that is that it doesn't make so much difference what ability or special skills anyone has, whether it be in business or education, and particularly in international affairs or United Nations work; it seems to make much more difference what the motivation is. But, judging by the number of people who seem to pay little attention to it, it must be something that people say but don't understand very well.

Here's the sort of thing that frequently happens in the work of the United Nations Association. Someone comes in and wants to do quite a lot of volunteering, and they allege considerable concern over the problem of Palestine, for example, or some other problem overseas. You talk with them a little further and inquire, "I suppose you must be quite active in community work at home?" They say, "No, I don't have much time for that . . ." Sooner or later, you are more than likely to conclude that this is one of those people who want to associate themselves with the aroma of international affairs, rather than support their interest by concern over what happens with the same problems in their own home town first.

We have become sort of cold-blooded about this now. We would much rather know what they have done at home before they became concerned over what's going on overseas.

I mention the requisite of motivation rather strongly because any stress that any of you who are schoolteachers can make on motivation, at least indirectly, in the schools would seem to me to be very well placed. I think that you should know what I have found—that many parents do not know about atom bombs and a particular form of biological warfare. Just in case some of you don't know, there are two or three specific points I'd like to mention . . .

Rather than just reading the John Hershey "Hiroshima," or gazing at the almost magnificent clouds of smoke that arose over those Japanese cities, I think it is much more important to know what would happen if that bomb fell on the State House in Boston. This is what would happen. If a single plane (and that's all that would be needed, of course) were to drop a bomb the same size as that dropped on Hiroshima (which is primitive now, and I'm not exaggerating at all), all buildings northward to the North Station would be flattened. You wouldn't see any of the gutted buildings that you saw after the block busters fell on Coventry. All buildings southward to the South Station, and up as far as Copley Square, including the Public Library, the New England Mutual Building,

the Copley Plaza, and Trinity Church would be destroyed by the bomb.

I have had some discussions about this with a man who worked on the Manhattan Project for three years. He said that that would not be nearly so destructive as if the bomb were dropped in the Charles River. That surprised me, but he added that if a bomb were dropped in the Charles River and a normal wind were coming across from Cambridge to Boston, it would pick up this tremendous cloud of radiated mist and carry it across the city. Anyone exposed for one hour to this cloud of mist, which would settle down over the area, would die within two weeks.

The only reason that it is important for high-school students to know these facts, is not at all to stimulate any terror or horror in them: but just as they know about machine guns and block busters, so also they might just as well understand what serious propositions are facing them in the future.

I would like to mention just one more fact, and this one is about botulinus toxin. I had to ask what that word was, too, when I heard it—botulinus toxin. It's a type of biological warfare that makes an atom bomb look like a peanut. One-seventh of a millionth of a gram of this particular form of biological warfare would be fatal. This virus can be prepared anywhere—such a town as Monaco in Southern France—by almost anybody; and enough can be made in a single plant the size of this building to take care of everybody on the whole globe. These facts have been carefully verified—I wouldn't give them to you unless I had checked them. One gram will take care of seven million people, if they are lined up shoulder to shoulder, which of course they wouldn't be, and one ounce would take care of everybody in North America . . .

I want to hurry right on to one or two other very brief points. This is trite, too, but people don't seem to understand it in schools and colleges. I learned a great deal about my rights and my privileges. As far as I am concerned, I learned nothing whatsoever about the fact that I really had some sort of obligation as an American citizen.

When I came back from overseas last year, I spoke to a group in a college here in Boston. During the question period, I asked how many of them felt that they really had a sense of obligation. There was one, a colored girl, who raised her hand. When I asked her what she meant, she said, "I guess I'm wrong—I don't really have it." And then she sat down . . . Understanding civic responsibility should be included in a school's curriculum so that the students will come out with a conviction that they know their obligations just as well as they know their rights and privileges. In particular, if they are concerned about poverty, persecution, and privation outside the United States, for goodness' sake, let them learn first how to handle them at home!

MR. PELTIER: Thank you, Mr. Fox . . . Our next speaker is Mr. Roger Holmes, Director of Training for the State Teachers College at Fitchburg.

MR. HOLMES: Certainly Mr. Fox's description of the botulinus toxin and the atom bomb leads me to feel that we better not be concerned much longer here or anywhere about the minutiae of education or the minutiae of American citizenship. We better come down to equipping ourselves with basic fundamentals and get oriented as to directions in this thing, instead of attempting to decide in a vacuum whether or not this specific practice may be good or bad, without any relative sense of direction as to ideals.

I am going to take leave to talk to you about my most recent experience in the Army, not talking as a schoolman in school, but as a schoolman who continued to be a schoolman in the Army, where it was my job to indoctrinate some three thousand American officers. These men were good, intelligent Americans. They were not professional soldiers. They were civilians in uniform of several years' war service, whose very consciences, in most instances, had brought them into the service because they were concerned, as we are, with this business of preserving American democracy. Their loyalty was not to be doubted. They were several cuts above the average man in the street upon whom we depend as a voter, several cuts above many in schooling and in thinking. And yet I was constantly aware, as I met successive groups of these officers, of two tremendous lacks, lacks serious enough to make any democracy limp badly, lacks which I think are typical of us as Americans and among the most significant causes of our difficulties in citizenship and our failure to achieve democracy to any greater degree.

These officers were being trained for military government. They were soon to go to Germany, Austria, Korea, and Japan, and, by directive, by succinct military orders, their duty was to see to the reestablishment of government and living, but on a sound democratic basis, and there the Army orders signed off—period. You could interpret that to suit your taste, and it was my job to attempt to indoctrinate them with some satisfactory and acceptable ideological tenet of the American brand of democracy, not to plug for our cultural patterns, but to attempt to get some clarity of understanding in regard to the basic principles involved.

First of all, these men had never learned any clear, unifying meaning of democracy. They knew all the usual slogans and shibboleths—they had them on the tip of their tongues, even as you and I. They understood the meaning of our institutions—they had taken civics in the eighth or ninth grade. But they knew no clear meaning of the moral code between men, which is democracy, the fundamental ethics from which those institutions are derived. They knew nothing of the moral climate which is the condition

of democracy; they saw democracy simply as the sum total of our existing forms and institutions. They were put together in a heap, as far as these men were concerned. They mistook the forms for the spirit—they could not clearly sense the spirit. And in this I think they were no worse off than the rest of us. They were typically good Americans and showed a typical lack.

The dangers here, I think, are two—two in particular: to see democracy as a particular set of forms, rather than to sense it as a spirit or an ideal; to be complacent as long as those forms endure; to think you have this democracy as long as those forms exist. It's to resist change; it's to fail to see the need of change; it's to lack any criterion in terms of which you can undertake any improvement for perfection. The second great danger in taking any set of forms as tantamount to democracy itself is this: it is, as you will agree, I think, entirely possible for a most unspeakable and intolerable fascism to grow up completely within the framework of our institutions. All you have to do is lose the spirit; all you have to do is to vote tyranny by the rule of the majority. It is entirely possible. I could paint you a picture of how that could happen, if time permitted, but this audience doesn't need any such picture. You all know how that could happen, and the more easily happen if people confuse the forms with the spirit.

I am convinced, after many years of school work, that much can be done about this grievous shortage in school, and I propose to speak on that point a little later on.

These same intelligent, loyal American officers showed another major fault—another one which I think is typical. They had a negative rather than a positive sense of democratic action. Mr. Fox has effectively suggested this in what he said. These men, to be sure, could and did sense and they could and did resent any violation of a specific democratic right of their own. They could holler loud and immediately, just the way you and I do, when they felt undemocratically put upon. They could cite you the Bill of Rights—they could even quote the Golden Rule as a precept that the other fellow ought to practice.

But what they did not sense was, to me at least, the very dynamics of democracy. They did not see the Golden Rule in this wise, if you will permit me to be brash enough to interpret that a bit, that "I don't get my democracy merely by guarding my own rights. My democracy comes to me only as I work, not for myself, but for yourself. What I am granted democratically can be measured rather exactly by what the others around me may enjoy. I can only extend and assure my own democratic climate by striving actively for the extension of that to others."

This is no sentimentalism—this is perfectly demonstrable horse sense, and we all know it. And yet, I am skeptical whether you and I, concerned

as we are, concerned enough to come here in this cause, sense this as more than a nice principle to be mouthed at a meeting such as this. I wonder if you and I get mad enough to offer the ideals of democracy to others because we sense in them a menacing and curtailing of our own democratic fortune.

I said that much might be done about it in school. In all conscience, I have to declare myself tonight. First, I think that we have been afraid too long and too much of indoctrination. There are those who think that democratic indoctrination is a contradition in terms. Perhaps it is . . . I frankly advocate, I frankly mean, the emotionalized inculcation of a deep and enduring faith in and for an understanding of certain principles of democracy before we can hope to get good specific behaviors in citizenship. Democracy does not have to mean an absence of common belief; it does not have to mean entirely the absence of any common front.

Democracy is something more than government by improvised disagreement. Democracy is something more than merely getting out of the way of anyone who differs from me so I won't trample on him. Democracy can't endure if we politically get out of the way of every false and contrasting ideology which threatens it. You must know what it stands for and have this strong common front to present.

There are certain common beliefs which, I think we will all agree, we can all accept for ourselves, our society, and our children without giving up one jot or tittle of those further private, personal beliefs that you and I hold to be even more precious. The Judean-Christian ethics, the exaltation of the individual, has often been taken as the essence of democracy . . .

In my work with these Army officers, we reduced the fundamental principles which I would speak of here to three. I don't offer these as a formula or panacea—I offer them merely as an illustration of what I wish we might try to do in the schools and for the schools, through selected, representative, top-level commissions whose members would come to the schools to give us the result of clarified thinking toward these ends. With these Army officers, we came to three basic principles. From them, we were able to derive to our own satisfaction the principles, the practices, and the institution itself. First of all, in accord with man's intended state (and you can interpret that in terms of your personal religion), there are certain areas of internal experience which shall be free from invasion by anyone or anything, including government. Further, these are matters of conscience and belief that do not necessarily impinge on the identical rights of others, upon the beliefs of others. But in other areas, where the pursuit of self-realization may impinge, as, for example, in economic pursuits, we, as free men, agree to be

bound by the wish of the majority—the wish of the majority always being tempered by the free expression of the minority—bound by rules, the principal purpose of which is to guarantee the optimum freedom to the greatest number. More government than that is enslaving and unnecessary, and all government must justify itself on that basis.

The second principle was that man can make his choices advantageously in self-government only by unrestricted access to truth, knowledge, and the exchange of opinion and experience. Only in that way can he know the possible alternatives, and only in that way can he assure himself against manipulation and tyranny.

Third, what menaces any member of the group or hurts any member of the group cannot ultimately be for the advantage of the group itself. What hurts any member of the group menaces every other member of the group of which that person is a part.

I submit to you that these were precisely the principles that the anti-democratic nations denied. I submit to you further that these are precisely the common ideological denominators of all of the democratic areas of the world. I submit to you that they can be taught in school by daily demonstration in the intermediate group. The penalties can be made felt in school as natural consequences. But these are principles—they are not practices or applications. We dare not put less than this idea into the possession of these coming citizens if they later are going to know when they have democracy and to proceed in its perfection . . .

MR. PELTIER: . . . We worked around in such a way as to put my particular friend, Mr. Kidger, in a spot. We agreed to take the speakers in alphabetical order, so, Mr. Kidger, they're all yours.

MR. KIDGER: I have been very much interested in the scope of what constitutes training for citizenship. It's my practice, from time to time, to ask students this question: "Why is the government paying so much money to educate you?" I get a series of replies; but, over a period of years, there has been a great similarity in those replies. First, "So I can have worthy use of leisure." Second, "So I can get a job." It takes quite a bit of discussion with a group to bring out the fact that possibly there may be another reason for their community's spending so much money on them. But, after a little discussion, they get this fact—that democracy rises or falls upon the intelligence of the group.

I gave a talk a number of years ago, and when it was reported to one of the English classes, the students had quite a time over what I said. What I said was this: "Anyone who does not do his homework and strive to get an education is as much a traitor as if he deserted in the front ranks, as

if he deserted to the enemy." The sum and substance of the discussion in the English section was that "Mr. Kidger was seeking publicity." I told them that was not my intent. I told them this: "Democracy rises and falls upon the intelligence of the individual." I also told them that it was their obligation to America to be intelligent citizens of their country.

We try to educate people. How do we succeed with education? How do we get training for citizenship in action? I think you all are more or less aware of the fact that one of the Gallup polls within the last two months has brought out many defects of our citizenship. One of these is the fact that a great many of our people won't bother to come out to vote. In carrying these investigations further, the fact was disclosed that the reason that they don't come out to vote is that they are not interested. They don't know what the issues are all about.

We have had from two or three of the speakers, an intimation that if we are to have real training for citizenship, we should have a breadth of scope, we should have interest, cultural understanding, and various other phases. The chairman asked me to dwell particularly on one phase of this training for citizenship, that from an economic standpoint. I wonder how many classrooms in this country are following the problems which are confronting this country at the present time. What are those problems?

One of them is taxation. We don't like to pay taxes. Another is the reciprocal trade agreements. These are at least two vital problems. A third one is the proposition of labor. I wonder how many of those three problems are taken up in the average classroom as problems of democracy, and are studied from the standpoint of the way those problems have arisen at the present time? A course in the problems of democracy in the senior year, it would seem to me, would entail not merely a knowledge of terms, but it must be functional. What does the average person know about some of these topics? One might make a list of terms which one reads in the newspaper. I jotted down a few, just for the purpose of calling them to your attention. You pick up the newspaper and read the Norris-LaGuardia Act. What is a yellow-dog clause? What are injunctions? Portal pay? Legal picketing? Check off? Fellow-servants clause? Goon squad? Soldiering? Hiring hall? Jurisdictional disputes? Are those taught in a classroom? Is a knowledge of those taught in the classroom from the standpoint of definition or from the standpoint of functioning?

All right—teach economics, but you must have a governmental side to economics. What are the laws relating to those subjects? What are the laws of your state and your community relating to those subjects? I have been very much interested in the remarks of two or three of the gentle-

men this evening. What are your obligations in regard to these subjects?

We might go from one subject to another. We might take up the matter of taxation, and I could make a list of subjects in that or in regard to trade agreements. In other words, is a lack of real citizenship due to a lack of interest at the present time which is due to a failure of functional teaching in regard to these subjects? When we teach an economic subject, do we bring in the social and the governmental implications? Do we bring in the attitude which the average citizen should have when this subject is being considered? When this subject is being treated, do we encourage a seeking of facts on both sides of a question? Do we seek to establish in our pupils a suspended judgment?

This course in Problems of American Democracy for the senior year, which, it seems to me, should be required for every pupil in our high schools, should bring forward just those facts. We can only get good citizenship by stimulating interest in current happenings instead of textbook definitions.

MR. PELTIER: I'm going to pass over the discussion originating here and go right out to the people in the audience, letting you ask questions of the panel.

FLOOR: I want to ask Mr. Kidger if he knows the number of universities that are actually giving courses, not in government, but in citizenship, the rights and duties of citizenship.

MR. KIDGER: At Dartmouth College a number of years ago, there originated a course which was copied by Columbia University. It has spread to Syracuse and is now in a number of colleges. We have it in Newton in the thirteenth grade. It's called by various names in different places. At Newton, we call it "American Civilization." "A Survey of Social Studies," is the name given in some places. It tries to emphasize the duties of citizenship. That course is not offered in places like Cornell, but the University of Maine, for example, has that course. Its entire aim is not merely a factual body of information and knowledge, but is also an attitude of mind. I think these gentlemen on the panel have dwelt quite a bit on the attitude of the mind, and it is very refreshing to hear them do it.

FLOOR: I have heard you mention five universities. Are there no possible places where persons will be trained to teach children this same subject matter? Isn't that one of the great defects of the whole system? We gave it at the University of Pennsylvania in 1938 and it dropped out there.

MR. KIDGER: That course is down in Louisiana now.

FLOOR: That makes six universities out of about 500.

MR. KIDGER: I don't care to contradict you, but it seems to me that that

course is still functioning in quite a number of schools. As proof of that, I know of one university where they had to go half a semester without textbooks because there was such a demand for them. At Newton we were fortunate to get them at all. We didn't get our second book until after February. Maybe it was the paper shortage, but I think there was something else entailed in it besides. There is at least a demand for that type of textbook, and there are four or five good ones on the market. The only trouble with them is that they are phrased in college wording. I sometimes think that when you get to college, you are in the Promised Land and have the key to all knowledge; hence the professors must talk in a learned way, whether it's understandable or not!

FLOOR: I wonder how many of the high-school units, either by state or local, give specific courses in citizenship as to the theory of rights, duties, and privileges. I have never heard of any high school in the entire country. NEA has a real job.

MR. KIDGER: I can name a great many schools where it's being done.

FLOOR: As civics, but not as specific training.

MR. KIDGER: Not pigeon-holing it as subject matter, but as broad knowledge of economics—social and economic duties. If you want to say civics is citizenship, fine. But that's been the weakness with us for a great many years—pigeon-holing it and saying, "This is civics. Don't bring in any economics, or you'll be treading on someone else's toes." If you want an exact course in civics, well and good; but you should have a course, to my way of thinking, which includes all the implications, social and economic, and the duties that go with real citizenship.

FLOOR: That's always given in social studies.

FLOOR: Since citizenship is tied up with economics and since we have many types of citizens because of the way or the place they live, the job they may or may not have, how can we expect, in our democracy, to make a better citizen unless they have some security of jobs, assurance of homes, assurance of income, and in some way can be taken away from that fear complex that exists? I mean this whole thing is tied up not only with the plan to build citizenship, but with our whole social and economic structure.

MR. KIDGER: I don't think that education can furnish any panacea for all economic ills. The best we can say in regard to your question is this: Intelligent, enlightened citizenship can look for solutions. In fact, they will not always find them; but, until we get a Utopia, we cannot solve all the problems. As I say, the best approach to it is an enlightened citizenry.

MR. FOX: I just want to make one very brief remark on your question. It seems you have a vicious circle there, and say that we can't do very much

with civic education because of the fear of what will happen when the education is over in terms of schooling. I think that points very strongly to this feature of motivation that I mentioned, because I believe that most of those ills you describe are due to twisted motivations of people. I think civic education should be included in several courses, rather than pigeonholing it. It seems to me that, since this is a group primarily interested in education, its first step might well be to begin in the schools.

I think, if you tried to handle that whole problem that you outlined, you would get lost wondering where to make your first step.

FLOOR: Is there time for Dr. Holmes to tell how he would teach those three principles in schools?

MR. HOLMES: I had been getting some of these questions all tied up in my mind at once. May I say this for just a second? You know and I know that this feeling of insecurity is due to one stark, staring recognition on the part of all of us—selfishness. Selfishness is too great a motive, whether it be capital or labor; whether it be this group or that. The school to me has to be the starting point unless you can make somebody see that his own welfare is identical with the others. Unless you do that you won't get any kind of common sense action that will bring you out of any kind of a mess. I'd like to represent it this way: First of all, we could have, I think, a representative commission whose job it would be to clarify the basic objectives in democratic and civic education for the assistance of autonomous school departments.

I am not talking about federal impositions of ideology—I am talking about that device with which we are all familiar, representative groups, perhaps under the NEA, which would furnish us with terms for this sort of thing, to give us a clearer sense of purpose. If they did, I suspect it would have in it a large body of what we have come to know as the American heritage of ideas. There is a good deal of scholarship in it.

The Department of Superintendence of 1936 did quite a job. The American Historical Association has a good deal of fine material on it. It's just about the first one anywhere on any list I have ever seen, that shows plainly our government is supposed to be republican in form and democratic in purpose, and it's not supposed to be either tyrannical or dictatorial.

I submit to you that I can set up, starting with the kindergarten, repetitive experiences, and that is the only thing that attitudes come out of. They don't come out of talking about it in class, but repetitive experiences satisfy or dissatisfy, as every teacher knows, and will tend to build up emotional bias in the direction of a right response. You can make the

teacher aware of the fact that every time she deals with the child disciplinarily, she must act the part as an agent of a group that has a job to do; she mustn't act in pique, or in a peeve, or subjectively. She must consider the evidence at hand in order to find the best thing to do. That is the only thing that she might do. She instructs her class as to what her duty had to be. We keep up this repetitive pattern through the grades.

When we get to the senior high school, let me illustrate it with this little story. It concerns Franklin D. Roosevelt and the so-called "nine old men" of the Supreme Court. Franklin D. wanted to put some more men on that bench, because he sincerely felt it to be inadequate. A number of people agreed with him that those men were tyrannical and dictatorial, standing in the way of the mandate of the American people. There was another equally sincere, intelligent group of people who said, "No. That Court stands there by the will of the American people as a check and block against tyranny and dictatorship of any one man. They are not the tyrants—we know whom we are accusing of being the tyrant." Both sides were in utter agreement as to the principle. There was simply a difference as to who was being dictatorial.

I think you can say to a class, "There's the situation. I have an opinion. My opinion is none of your business. Your obligation is to have an opinion, and it will be none of mine. There are the sources. You are in love with the principle—you don't doubt it. Make up your mind whether or not it was violated, and if you think it was, get mad over it and don't like it."

It permits you to avoid the old chestnut in high-school civics—the teaching of the high tariff or the low tariff we talk about because nobody gets mad about it. That's the kind of thing I mean.

I could illustrate it with another example—the Mooney-Billings case. We don't hold a man in jeopardy because of his beliefs. You can start the pattern in the kindergarten through the action of the teacher. You can point out in grade six, after you have taught colonization and exploration, that there were certain common denominators of good leaders, or certain common denominators of bad leaders, and you can elicit a scholastically reputable list of the qualities of good leadership—the common touch, sincerity, and all the rest as illustrated by Columbus, Magellan; and as illustrated to the contrary by Cortez and Pizarro and a few others.

Then you can say to your students, "Do you have a chance to practice the selection of leaders? What kind of a job do you think you do? You vote for the fellow on your street, the fellow that belongs to your gang." "Yes." "What do you do to yourself when you do that? Did you ever stop to think of it? What kind of a job do you think your folks do, all of us do?

Do we ever do such things as take into account the questions that don't have anything to do with the case?"

I say you can emotionalize the observance of that record, of that formula. Examine the record; examine the qualifications. Think about it all the way up through the grades and make an American child ashamed to vote with anything other than with his best brains. I think it is time we started to do that sort of thing in school.

FLOOR: Are we concerned tonight with schools through the grades and then college, or can we also consider the use of the schools for adult education? Figures tell us about the majority of people who do not go to college and who most certainly do become our voters, but live in a vacuum, so to speak, from the time they get through the twelfth grade until they become old enough to vote. I am just as much concerned about that group. Is it the responsibility of the school to extend itself to more and more adult education in this field?

MR. PELTIER: Would you comment on that, Clarence?

MR. BERGER: To a degree. I would like to point out that of recent date, churches, forums, and other media for conducting these adult education programs, have been concentrating to a great extent on this general question to which I have addressed myself. As a matter of fact, it's not so many years ago that a topic such as this would not be introduced into a staid educational conference, you see, and, so to speak, the cloud is being pulled away and pulled out into the open. Recently, as a matter of fact, within the Greater Boston area, several rather intensive courses were set up for the purpose of providing adult groups with the basic facts involved here.

However, most of the researches have demonstrated that, by and large, after a person reaches middle age, his prejudices remain at a pretty constant level so that most of the work must be done with the younger age groups who are in the process of forming their attitudes on this all-important question.

MR. PELTIER: I'd like to pass this along, if I may, to Mr. Fox for further comment. He's the Brookline Forum.

MR. FOX: There is another feature that I am thinking of. The Brookline Forum is simply another type of forum. It tries to stress steps a little bit more than undirected discussion. The idea of forums in towns seems often to be just to chew on problems without digesting them. So, in the United Nations Association, for example, we have been running a group of discussion meetings which are limited to 25 or 30. We have several of these groups.

I'll tell you very briefly just what happens. We begin about eight o'clock,

taking a specific problem in international affairs, such as the Greek-Turkey aid. The discussion, for one hour, is divided into about seven groups of five each. When the hour is over, the chairman of each of those groups announces to the entire group the first three steps in the solution and nothing else. Where agreement prevails there is little or no discussion. It's all over at ten, but it doesn't stop there. It is recorded for the local newspapers and also sent to the appropriate officials in the United Nations and appropriate members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee . . . I think that's one of the things that we have done that comes closest to being practical, in terms of steps rather than just discussion.

FLOOR: Most of this is terribly important in the total picture, but I am also thinking of the man who goes to work at a shop and who becomes one of a large part of our voting population, and of the woman who stays at home. Some of us don't often listen to anything on the radio. Aren't our schools missing a beat if they don't help with this information in adult education and so extend the school's job, to get more and more education for those people on the current problems? The doctor speaks to us about the business of what happens today in the reciprocal trade agreements. I just don't think we pay attention to what we should—the real job of adult education.

MR. BERGER: One problem is planning the program of adult education, and quite another problem, perhaps even greater, is getting people to come in and avail themselves of the services which we are offering. Those of us who are in this phase of work know of slaving over preparations and details for a meeting, and coming in to find a half dozen people there.

I just said to our chairman that we are going to hear Irving Caesar, the song-writer, present some of his songs. Perhaps it is largely our fault in that we have not devoted ourselves to evolving sufficiently attractive techniques to reach these people, such as Mr. Caesar has succeeded in doing.

FLOOR: Sometimes we should go to them instead of drawing them back to us all the time.

MR. FOX: . . . I have recently been down in the maritime unions, speaking to some of the sailors. I just want to say that in this plan, it is better to go to them.

FLOOR: That's right.

FLOOR: I can't help feeling that the one thing we have been trying to do in the training field is to bring out the very thing you have in mind—the creation of civic associations that were created because of gripes, and there is where they are getting their education. The fact is that their children have become a part of those organizations which are beyond the school age. That's one process that's been working our very well.

MR. DALY: . . . I think I have heard hundreds upon hundreds of conferences concerning political issues and society issues, and I don't think I ever recall a single instance in which there has been any apparent carry-over from anything to do with those people in schools.

When I hear discussions concerning adult education, in which you say we should get more into it, I can recall our great difficulty when we were organizing the Child Council. Neither the man who works hard all day nor the woman with seven children would be willing or likely to come to any such adult education meeting. When, on the other hand, I hear discussions as to what courses might be given in college or at least in the thirteenth grade for civic education, I can't help thinking of the great mass of people who never get that far.

Instead of saying that we should provide adult education for them, with a consciousness of the fact that the prejudices and attitudes and all the rest of it have gone on for several years before that, I would rather look at the suggestion of Dr. Holmes—emotionalized learning, learning through living, going all the way back to the primary grades, to the elementary school, rather than starting at the junior or senior high-school level. I think we should give children a chance to learn how to work with others, to cooperate with others who have the proper attitude toward others, and the chance to express those attitudes. If we go along in that fashion through all the earlier years, we won't need to superimpose some nice little course in civic education at, say, the twelfth and thirteenth grade, or in college or in adult education. Far more meaningful patterns can be developed through experiences with teachers and others back along the line. . . .

MR. PELTIER: We have time for no more than three more questions.

FLOOR: I presume that you agree with Mr. Kidger that the important thing is to stimulate interest in current affairs and how current problems develop rather than in the textbook definition of our problems. I'd like to know how much you think the teachers are going to turn to that. You spoke of a statement that was made about twenty years ago in an NEA meeting. I don't think we have gotten very far in the last twenty years. I'd like to know, outside of the fact that this is the second conference on citizenship, what we are going to do in the next couple of years, which are very important.

MR. PELTIER: I'll let you in on a little secret. A while ago, I took some twenty-five names of persons prominent in the news and gave them to some five hundred people—college undergraduates and part-time teachers taking in-service courses. Can you guess which group scored higher identifying these people? I am terribly perturbed over the fact that some of our

teachers themselves aren't *interested* in political affairs. I feel that so much that has been said here suggests that one of the failures of the school has been just what Mr. Kidger and the others have been talking about—to create interest. Facts, facts, facts. If the youngster has not developed *interest* in these affairs, he isn't going to go on with more facts. He's going to forget the facts as soon as the exam is over. I think that the development of interest should be one of the major objectives of a civic education program—a *program*, not a course, not isolated assemblies here and there.

MR. HOLMES: First of all, I want to say that I agree with you heartily. It's a shame that any teacher doesn't have both knowledge and interest in current affairs, in political questions, and things of that sort. But I am here to state that even if she did, it's too much to hope that possession of knowledge and interest would constitute a fine influence in the direction of civic education. She doesn't even use it.

They have been doing a great many things in the last twenty years—they have been doing without any sense of purpose; they have been working with this gadget and that—and it adds up to not much. Student government is certainly all over the United States. I don't know of a single training institution that carries on without some kind of a course in democracy in education or civic education. But we are so thundering afraid in this country that we will tell somebody what we ought to believe! We just can't come to a meeting of the mind. Catholic, Protestant, Jew—we need to have some of those things to think with.

Adult education—is that the term? Adult debate—where you come in, uphold the side with which you started, and you walk out with the same side. Education—do we go forward in beginning a conscious understanding of bedrock ethics so we can learn how to make the applications that I think we lack in schools and in adult education? We have been too long afraid of it.

MR. KIDGER: I'd like to throw one sentence in here. Why do we go after material? Why do we do research? Is it to get the truth or is it to substantiate a belief which we already had, about which we were a little uncertain, so that we will go right along in our way of thinking? I think Mr. Holmes certainly said something there. How many people who go to these Sunday forums come out of there with a large body of new, constructive points of view? How much are they changed? "We'll tolerate the way you think, but of course we are right."

MR. BERGER: I must disagree with Mr. Kidger. In several studies of people's forums, it has been demonstrated in terms of attitude that, by and large, they have a much higher degree of understanding of issues and con-

sideration of other people's views. Coming back to the use of words, they are far less prejudiced on social, economic, religious matters than the non-regular forum attendants. It really doesn't hold throughout.

MR. KIDGER: I don't know anything about surveys. All I know is the attitude of the various people with whom I have talked after they come out. I am giving my personal opinion—I may be all wrong.

MR. PELTIER: I am afraid I will have to shut this off, but if any of you want to stop and argue with me after this meeting is over, I will be here, and so will the members of the panel.

. . . Some of you may know "Sing a Song of Safety," "Umbriago," or "Swanee." Mr. Caesar is the composer, and he is going to try to show you what some of the members of this panel have been talking about—doing things through the emotions, getting the emotional tone.

(Following this introduction, Mr. Irving Caesar sang his own compositions,

"How to Spell Friendship"
"Tommy Tax"
"We Have a Law"
"The San Francisco Charter"
"Let's Make the World of Tomorrow Today,"

with statements and explanations about each.)

The first lesson for a young man who faces the world with his career in his own hands is that he must be willing to do without. The question for him at the start and ever after must be not simply what he wants to get, but what he is willing to lose. "Whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it," is the profoundest lesson of philosophy. No one can fight as a good soldier the battles of democracy who is constantly seeking cover.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

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GENERAL SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7,

6:30 p.m. Dinner for conference leaders only

THURSDAY, MAY 8,

10:00 a.m. Opening General Session
Faneuil Hall
Presiding, THE HONORABLE OSCAR W. HAUSSERMANN, *Chairman of Local Conference Committee*

2:00 p.m. First sessions of work groups
Fourth floor, Hotel Statler

8:30 p.m. Second General Session
Old South Meeting House
Presiding, JOHN J. MAHONEY, *Professor of Education, Boston University*

FRIDAY, MAY 9,

9:00 a.m. Second sessions of work groups
Fourth floor, Hotel Statler

2:00 p.m. Third sessions of work groups
Fourth floor, Hotel Statler

6:00 p.m. Third General Session, Banquet
Salle Moderne, Hotel Statler
Presiding, ERNEST O. MELBY, *Dean, School of Education, New York University*

SATURDAY, MAY 10,

9:00 a.m. Final sessions of work groups
Fourth floor, Hotel Statler

10:30 a.m. Summarization Session
Parlor A, Mezzanine, Hotel Statler
Presiding, EARLE T. HAWKINS, *Chairman of the Conference Committee*

12:30 p.m. Final General Session, Luncheon
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